

THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF TOLOMEO FIADONI
(PTOLEMY OF LUCCA)

DISPUTATIO

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THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF TOLOMEO FIADONI
(PTOLEMY OF LUCCA)

by

James M. Blythe



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As always, for Sheila

and for those who died while I was writing this book:
my mother, Ann Blythe, my aunt, Charlotte Horton,
and my father-in-law, Abe Mangel

Just as delight in food arises from variety, that writing is more delightful which reports the acts and deeds of rulers, of a city, or of some private person who has excelled in his work over a period of time.

—Tolomeo Fiadoni, *Annales*

It is characteristic of people that they delight in their work [...]. And if this is true for human works deriving from their inferior nature, it is even more true for intellectual work, to the degree that it is higher. This is the work of writing.[...] Seneca compares writing to food in a letter to Lucillus, and the sacred eloquence does not dissent from this, since the Lord says, ‘humanity does not live by bread alone, but in every word that proceeds from the mouth of God’.

—Tolomeo Fiadoni, *Annales*

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I am especially grateful to John, with whom I published two articles evaluating an unknown early manuscript of Hans Baron on Tolomeo Fiadoni. John was an undergraduate honours student who was directed to this important manuscript by his advisor, Ronald Witt of Duke University. Ron asked me if I could help John with some questions, and after some discussions among the three of us I agreed to collaborate with John and suggested using his work as the basis for two articles. In the end, the published articles contain much that was original both to John and to me. In this book I have used our joint work in Chapter 7 for the evaluation of Baron's claim that Tolomeo interpolated passages and ideas of his own in Thomas Aquinas's portion of *De regimine principum*.

Father Emilio Panella of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, who has published extensively on the manuscript tradition of Tolomeo's work and the documentary material in Italian archives pertaining to him, was extremely helpful to me during my two research trips to Italy. He pointed me to materials, made invaluable suggestions, and on two occasions made telephone calls for me when my wretched spoken Italian did not suffice.

David Wootton, author of an important article on the modern meaning of republicanism and Tolomeo's role in originating and transmitting it, very kindly sent me a copy of the book in which his article had appeared, since I could not obtain the Italian publication through Interlibrary Loan at my university. Everyone interested in political thought should be sure to read it (it is also available on the Internet for those unable to obtain the book).

I am grateful to the University of Memphis for several grants that have enabled me to pursue my research for this book. On two occasions I received Summer Research Grants that paid for two month-long trips to Italy. While there I was able to collect images of many archival documents and unpublished books, as well as visit many of the central places in Tolomeo's life. One fall semester I received a Professional Development Assignment (our equivalent of a sabbatical), during which I was able to bring all the disparate sections of this book and its companion on Tolomeo's worldview and thought into what I hope is a coherent organization. And finally I was honoured with a Dunavant Professorship, which provided very substantial extra funds for three years that I was able to use for my research and other professional needs.

Last but not least, my wife, Sheila Martin, as she always does, tirelessly read my manuscript and found many errors, ambiguities, and infelicitous wordings. We both like nothing more than sitting next to each other at our respective computers writing our very different books, and we have spent countless pleasant hours the past ten years doing just that.



Autograph of Tolomeo Fiadoni, Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 22.9, fol. 1288^v. The recto is a bull of Pope Nicholas IV concerning privileges of the Hospice of San Pellegrino della Alpi, which Tolomeo is forwarding. Tolomeo's text reads, 'Frater Tolomeus prior predictorum presentavit eidem archdiacono has literas in hospitali Sancti Martini, presentibus Guido Caldovillani notario et presbitero Ubaldo cappellano hospitalis et presbitero Dainese anno mclxxxviii, die xxx octubris.' Reproduced with permission.

PREFACE

Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca, c. 1236–1327) — student, travelling companion and confessor of Thomas Aquinas; Dominican brother, priest, Prior of San Romano in Lucca and Santa Maria Novella in Florence; scholar-in-residence at the papal court in Avignon; client of one important cardinal (Leonardo Patrasso, Bishop of Albano, a nephew of the notorious Boniface VIII) and chaplain to another (Guillaume de Peyre de Godin de Bayonne, Cardinal Priest of St Cecilia); acquaintance of the saintly pope Clement V and the reviled pope John XXII; Bishop of Torcello; and author of several works of history, political thought, polemic, and biblical exegesis—was one of the most remarkable political thinkers of the Middle Ages. He was a transitional figure struggling to incorporate new ideas with tradition and was the person most responsible for providing a theory for the practices of northern Italian republican governments. He was hostile to kingship, which he saw as inherently despotic and thus inappropriate for any virtuous and freedom-loving people. He praised republican Rome effusively and considered Julius Caesar's reign tyrannical. He was the first to equate the standard Greek models of mixed constitution — Sparta, Crete, and Carthage — with the Roman Republic, biblical rule, the church, and certain medieval states. At the same time he defended passionately the absolute authority of the pope in both religious and secular affairs and monarchy for the majority of the world's peoples not virtuous enough for better.

Given all this, it is amazing how little has been written about him. There have been no book-length studies since the nineteenth century, and the two written then were little more than articles that sketched out his life and work. There were no translations of his work into English (nor to my knowledge in any other language) until my own translation of *De regimine principum* in 1997. General political histories mention him briefly, if at all, and only a few authors have

written articles about his thought, and then only about one part of his political thought. Emilio Panella and Ludwig Schmugge have written several excellent articles on the manuscript tradition and the biographical and literary sources of Tolomeo, and the latter is preparing a critical edition of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, but neither has written much about his ideas and their importance. What has been written so far is only the beginning of an appreciation of his thought.

I mentioned in the preface to my 1997 translation that I was convinced that Tolomeo today stands in the same position as Marsilius of Padua sixty years ago: alluded to briefly in political histories, but otherwise little known and not accorded a major place in the history of political thought. This changed in the 1950s when Alan Gewirth translated Marsilius's major work and wrote a book-length introduction to his thought. Today, Marsilius is considered one of the greatest political thinkers of the fourteenth century, and excerpts of his work appear in most anthologies of Western political thought. I have been gratified by a noticeable increase of interest in Tolomeo following the publication of my translation, and I hope that this book will stimulate even more interest.

English-speaking scholars, myself included, have been accustomed to call him Ptolemy of Lucca (or sometimes Tolomeo of Lucca), although the Library of Congress oddly insists on Bartholomew, which no one uses. Scholars around the world refer to him by different names and employ semi-standard, sometimes inaccurate titles for his writings. It is never easy to change established practices, but a book like this one, which I intend to be a guide and a stimulus for future scholarship, is a good place to try. We now know for certain that the name often associated with him in notarial documents, Fiadoni, is a true surname, so I will refer to him as Tolomeo Fiadoni.

There has also been much confusion about the titles of two of his works. The editors of modern editions bestowed the titles *Exameron* and *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii* on the works that Tolomeo himself entitled *De operibus sex dierum* and *De iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis* respectively. Although the mistaken titles have become the ones by which they are best known, I will use the correct ones. In choosing to use Fiadoni and returning to the original titles I am following in the footsteps of a few Italian-language scholars and especially Emilio Panella, who in his articles and the standard reference he revised, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, strove to correct the record.¹

¹ *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, ed. by Thomas Kauppeli and Emilio Panella, 4 vols (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 1970–93), iv, 318–25. In all citations of Tolomeo's

I originally intended to write a single book treating comprehensively all aspects of Tolomeo's life and thought. After several years of work I realized that this was impossibly ambitious, and that even if it were possible it would stretch the book to an unacceptable length. One reason is that Tolomeo's works encompass political thought, ecclesiology, church-state relations, historiography, the political history of northern Italy, science (since much of medieval science was developed in commentaries on the days of Creation), and biblical exegesis. Tolomeo wrote *De regimine principum*, one of the most important political treatises of the Middle Ages, *De iurisdictione imperii*, a highly significant contribution to the papal/imperial debate, *Annales*, a history of important events from the eleventh to the early fourteenth century, *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, a history of the church from its beginnings to his own time, *De operibus sex dierum*, a lengthy exegesis of Genesis 1 and part of Genesis 2, and two short treatises on the empire. My work before beginning this project was focused entirely on Tolomeo's political thought, and I failed to realize the magnitude of a comprehensive treatment.

In the end I have written two books, which together have a much more limited scope. What I hope to accomplish is to provide the tools for the future study of Tolomeo Fiadoni. He has not yet received the attention he deserves, and it is often difficult to find out what has been done in a particular area because the necessary information is spread out among many articles and essays in various languages and written over several hundred years. Many of the older sources are difficult to obtain. Much of the material for his biography can only be obtained in Italian archives, particularly those of Lucca, and much of what can be found in sketches of his life in modern scholarship devoted to his thought, my own included until now, has been based on wrong or misleading secondary sources.

This book has two main parts. The first reconstructs Tolomeo's life as far as this can be done and places it in the context of his times and his concerns. The second discusses each of Tolomeo's works in turn and addresses the technical

works, I will list Tolomeo Fiadoni as author and what Panella and I consider to be the correct title, but in the bibliography and in the first footnote reference of any of these I will always give in parentheses the author name and title under which the edition cited appeared. Since there are many editions of his *De regimine principum*, I will normally cite it by book, chapter, and paragraph number instead of by page of a particular edition. The book and chapter numbers are standard; where paragraph numbers differ I will use those of my translation. In citations of his *Annales*, the number before the page number is the year under which the item appears, in citations of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* the two numbers before the edition's column number represent the book and chapter number, and for *De operibus sex dierum* the first number is the book number. I do this to avoid tedious repetition for sources that I frequently cite.

questions they raise, particularly those of authenticity and dating, which have an effect on how we read his intentions and contributions. Two appendices provide a time line for Tolomeo's life and selected documents not easily available in modern editions. A transcription of all documents mentioning him would be useful, but this would be a massive task for someone in the future, considering the condition of some of them. Finally, a third appendix provides corrections to my translation of *De regimine principum*. These are embarrassing because they are the result of carelessness (which is humbling, since I went over the translation many times). Fortunately, there are very few of them, and only one significantly changes the meaning.

In the companion volume, *The Worldview and Thought of Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca)*, I analyse Tolomeo's thought in the context of several important topics: his role as historian and writer, his worldview, his ideas about women, gender, and the family, his contribution to ecclesiology and the disputes between church and empire, his political thought in general, particularly as it applied to cities and the history of Rome, and the extent to which he can be considered a civic humanist.

Two themes introduced in this book, but which have even more importance in the companion volume, have increasingly impressed themselves on me in the course of this project, until they have come to play a central role in my narrative. The first is Tolomeo's struggle, never quite successful, in almost everything he wrote and on almost every subject, to reconcile conflicting authorities. In my earliest writing on Tolomeo I called attention to his inability to reconcile Aristotelian and Augustinian ideas of government, but this turned out to be only one of several similar situations. The second theme, which unlike the first is largely restricted to Tolomeo's political ideology, is that in several key areas his thought evolved and matured over the years, in particular between his earliest treatise, *De iurisdictione imperii*, and his most important work, *De regimine principum*. The discovery of these themes has made the endeavour much more exciting for me and I hope for the reader. For me, as for medieval practitioners of the dialectical method, the clash of powerful opposing arguments is the essence of most intellectual activity, and the rational attempt to reconcile or rebut such arguments the fun and value of it. This process, together with Tolomeo's worldly experiences and the critical historical events of the times, drove his ideological transformation over several decades. It is fascinating to see this process at work and to observe that in many ways it did not help, for Tolomeo was never able completely to resolve any of the conflicts in his mind or work, even as he claimed to see no conflicts at all. It is the effect of his environment that makes writing his biography not only a

filling in of the historical record but an essential part of my whole endeavour, but I do not claim to have resolved all aspects of the relationship between Tolomeo's conflicts, experiences, preconceptions, and influences on the one hand and his mature thought on the other. There is much for future scholars to do in this area, as well as in the study of areas of his writing that I have passed over.

Over the past few years I have written five articles dealing in whole or in part with Tolomeo Fiadoni. I also wrote a chapter on his political thought in my 1992 book *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* and an introduction about his life and thought in my translation of *De regimine principum*. However, almost all of this book is new; the biographical tidbits I dropped into my other writings were obtained from other modern writers, and I now know that many of these are inaccurate. Since then I have taken a close look at the primary material and other documentary sources and base my long biography on them. Aside from a few passages in the introductory chapters, the one overlap with earlier work in this book is the discussion in Part II, Chapter 7, of the question of whether Tolomeo interpolated his thought into Thomas Aquinas's part of *De regimine principum*, which expands upon an article I published with John La Salle.

Throughout this book I refer to documents in Italian archives in the European fashion; thus, 9 October 1302 is 9.10.1302. This is the way they are listed in those archives and in much of the scholarly literature, and I felt it would be confusing to translate them into the typically perverse American style (that is, October 9, 1302). Unless noted otherwise, all translations are mine.

I will also use the words *republicanism*, *republic*, and *Roman Republic* throughout, except where noted, in the usual modern meaning, which distinguishes republican government from monarchy. This was not the normal ancient or medieval usage, which typically applied the word to any government, but it has proved impossible to eschew the modern usage without great awkwardness, considering the vast literature on the subject.

When I began this project ten years ago, I expected that my knowledge of Tolomeo and his works would make this a straightforward project that I could complete in a few years. Instead, it has proved to be a task far beyond that of a single individual. Although I will now move on to a very different project, my work, which has centred on Tolomeo for the past fifteen years, has been immensely rewarding, and I look forward to others extending and contesting what I have done.

Life, Mind, and Character

Chapter 1

TOLOMEO FIADONI AND HIS TIMES

In the Italian as in the ancient city republics political theory was the product largely of political crisis. So to a great and increasing extent was much else in Italian communal culture, in creative literature [...] in civic art, and by the late thirteenth century, urban historiography. From the time of Rolandino and Salimbene on to Riccoraldo, Compagni, and Mussato, peace, division, and the price of faction formed the haunting, obsessive leitmotiv of chronicle writers in every part of communal Italy.¹

Tolomeo Fiadoni was an alien. I do not mean this statement to be controversial, since I could have said it as easily about any other historical figure. Some of them seem more like us than others, and we are tempted to think that they really had the same mentality, hopes and fears, likes and dislikes, worldviews, and motives as we do, at least in some specific areas. Heloise is the best example I can think of of a person whom every age from the fourteenth to the twenty-first century has read to suit its own prejudices. But we are not the same as our own parents or grandparents, and still less similar to someone who lived in the Middle Ages. Intellectual historians like me, in trying to show the evolution of some idea, will often rip from its context a historical text that sounds like a modern idea, leaving the impression that the author believed the same thing moderns do. Of course, this is almost never true even of the particular text, let alone of the mind of the author. As concepts develop, the same words and even the same arguments are moulded to conform with the current assumptions and values and in so doing take on new meanings. The continuity is real, and so is the discontinuity. The tracing of an idea from the past to the present is legitimate, but we must never forget the differences, as too often happens. I mention this now as

¹ Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 611.

I begin to describe Tolomeo and his world, but it will become especially relevant when, in the next chapter and in the companion volume, I examine his worldview. As much as possible I will try to understand how Tolomeo actually thought. My hope is that in addition to presenting a more complete portrait of him this approach will also illuminate the more traditional analyses of his political thought to be found in the later chapters of the companion volume and that future scholars will be able to take this still further.

Tolomeo lived a long and productive life during one of the most exciting periods of the Middle Ages. With some exaggeration, Alfred Crosby calls the half century from 1275 to 1325, which more or less spans Tolomeo's active life as an author, 'miraculous decades unmatched in their radical changes in perception until the era of Einstein and Picasso'.² He was thinking of a turn toward quantification, affecting science, art, and music, and eventually, he argues, preparing Europeans for world dominance in the modern period, but it was also a time of increasing hardship and great struggles: between popes and emperors, between incipient nationalism and concepts of universal rule, between popes and bishops, between bishops and university masters. The Franciscan order tore itself apart into Conventuals and Spirituals, with the latter turning against the ruling popes in open civil war. Heresy was rampant, and with it came the Inquisition, largely staffed by Tolomeo's Dominican order. There was almost constant millennial fervour among both Christians and Jews. The independent cities of northern Italy were riven by factional and inter-city strife and the intervention of popes and outside nobles. In the last half of Tolomeo's life the prosperity of the High Middle Ages began to ebb away, imperceptibly at first, as crop yields shrank and famine and disease increased. At the same time the cities of northern Italy experienced great population growth leading to overpopulation in the late thirteenth century, as reflected in Tolomeo's statement that cities should not have incentives for big families as Sparta did, since any lowly person was capable of reproduction.³

² Alfred W. Crosby, *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 227; see also p. 19.

³ Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemaeus Lucensis), *De regimine principum*, in Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula omnia necnon opera minora, Tomus Primus: Opuscula philosophica*, ed. by R. P. Joannes Perrier (Paris: Lethielleux, 1949), IV.15.1, pp. 267–445; see Peter Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 1, 358. Biller, pp. 361–63, discusses Tolomeo's original contribution to ideas about population.

Tolomeo was at the centre of some of these events. He grew up in the tumult of thirteenth-century northern Italian communal life, and himself came from a family involved in commerce. For many years he was the student, companion, and, for a time, the confessor of the greatest thinker of the age, Thomas Aquinas. He participated in important councils of the Dominican order, including the election of a master general. He spent time at the court of several popes. He was present at the court of the saintly misfit pope Celestine V — who briefly raised the hopes of the renegade Franciscans — and took part in rallies urging Celestine not to resign. He was in Florence in the key years of 1301–02, when factional strife reached its height with the battle of White and Black Guelphs and the invasion of Charles of Valois. He was at the papal court in Avignon for many years, and he was favoured with an episcopal appointment late in life by another highly controversial and widely hated pope, John XXII. As his own writings reveal, he travelled extensively for someone at that time: throughout Italy and France, to Germany, and probably to Spain.

Despite Tolomeo's closeness to Thomas Aquinas, he was no scholar in the accepted sense. He did not complete a doctorate; the documents we have mentioning him, such as the canonization hearings for Thomas Aquinas, refer to him simply by name or as 'Brother Tolomeo'. There are no surviving treatises by him like those most characteristic of the works of contemporary scholars: no commentaries on the *Sentences* or on Aristotle's works, and no *Questiones*. The one work of biblical interpretation he produced, *De operibus sex dierum*, was of a type not at all common to late thirteenth-century academics. There is no evidence that he taught at a university, although he apparently spent several years at Thomas's school in Naples and probably at Rome. His lack of degree cannot be a question of lack of opportunity; indeed, no one could have been better placed than he. Surely if he had the inclination and were capable, Thomas would have pushed him in that direction.

But Tolomeo himself tells us, in his preface to *Annales*, that he loved to read and write, and as is typical for him, he uses a food metaphor to express this pleasure:

We learn from Solomon in the book of Parables or Proverbs that 'people rejoice in the opinion of their mouths, and suitable discourse is best' [15.23]. These words show the fruit of writing according to the two ends to which it is ordained. The first end is from the point of view of the writer, because it is characteristic of people that they delight in their work, as Solomon also says in Ecclesiastes [5.17], 'it seems good to me that people should enjoy pleasure from their labour that they do under the sun'. And if this is true for human works deriving from their inferior nature, it is even more true for intellectual work, to the degree that it is higher. This is the work of writing, which proceeds from the action of

intellect, and this verifies the opinion of the wise one mentioned above, because ‘people rejoice in the opinion of their mouths’, namely that which they write or proffer or preach. The second end is from the point of view of the hearer or reader, because it delights the many who hear or read, if they understand what is heard or read. Seneca compares writing to food in a letter to Lucillus, and the sacred eloquence does not dissent from this, since the Lord says, ‘humanity does not live by bread alone, but in every word that proceeds from the mouth of God’.⁴

It was this delight in reading and putting down what he read in writing, together with his own thoughts, for others to enjoy that drove Tolomeo to research various subjects in archives and libraries, though some of his works were also driven by political exigency. Tolomeo is, quite properly, chiefly remembered for his great work of synthetic political thought, *De regimine principum*, but his other works, except for a commentary on the six days of Creation, fall into two rather different categories, which correspond to his different intentions for composing them. On the one hand, his works of secular and ecclesiastical history reveal him as what we might now call an antiquarian: he loved to gather together facts and opinions from ancient documents and assemble them in a coherent order. This was in itself not at all rare in the Middle Ages: both the monastic *florilegia* and scholastic dialectical treatises were characterized by bringing together a wide variety of sources and authorities. On the other hand, his polemical pieces were designed to defend particular positions, like the pope’s authority over emperors. Again this is quite common, and he largely used well-established arguments and examples. What strikes me as so interesting is the way Tolomeo’s own rather original ideas, unusual arguments, and examples of contemporary events broke into what are

⁴ Tolomeo Fiadoni (Tholomaeus von Lucca), *Die Annalen des Tholomeus von Lucca* [henceforth *Annales*], ed. by B. Schmeidler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicorum*, n.s., 8 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1930; repr. 1955), pp. 1–3: ‘Salomone actestante didicimus in Parabolis sive Proverbiis quod “letatur homo sententiaoris sui, et sermo oportunus optimus est.” Ex quibus verbis ostenditur fructus scripture secundum duos fines, ad quos ordinatur; unus sumitur ex parte scribentis, quia hoc proprium est hominis, ut delectetur in opere suo, sicut idem Salomon dicit in Ecclesiaste: “Hoc,” inquit, “mihi visum est bonum ut fruatur homo letitia ex labore suo, quo laborat sub sole.” Et si hoc habet veritatem in opere humano affixo nature inferiori, multo magis in opere intellectuali, quanto altior est operatio; et hoc est opus scribentis, qui ab actione intellectus procedit, et sic ex hoc verificatur sententia sapientis prefati, quia “letatur homo sententiaoris sui,” videlicet quam scribit seu profert sive pronumpiat. Secundus autem finis ordinatur ad audientem vel legentem, quod plurimum delectat audiendo seu legendo, si intelligentur audita vel lecta. Assimilat enim Seneca in epistola ad Lucillum scripturam cibo, quod et a sacro eloquio non discordat dicente Domino, quod “non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, quod procedat de ore Dei”.

otherwise conventional works. It is as if he were trying to do a workmanlike hack job, but could not restrict himself to this. What emerged is not always consistent, but it is fascinating, and sometimes bizarre.

The early part of Tolomeo's life coincided with a great struggle between a succession of popes and their enemies, the Hohenstaufen Roman emperors. The church survived the territorial threat of Frederick II and the others, but it never recovered from the spiritual damage. The papacy came to be perceived as overly involved in secular affairs, and this was only exacerbated by its practice of calling crusades against its political rivals. Papal hierocratic claims became more strident as the reality of papal power diminished. Adding to this was the rise of the nation-state in this period, which led to a great struggle between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip the Fair of France, when Tolomeo was in his sixties and writing his masterpiece, *De regimine principum*.

The papacy suffered in other ways as well. The crusades to the east, which had served to unify Europe behind the pope, fizzled, and the final defeat came with the fall of the last crusader stronghold, Acre, in 1291. The resignation of the saintly but incompetent pope Celestine V in 1296, when Tolomeo was about sixty, and the election of one of the most controversial popes in history, Boniface VIII — called by his enemies 'Antichrist', 'sodomite', and 'heretic' — inspired a bitter resistance and a debate on the validity of papal resignation and consequently on Boniface's legitimacy. Barely surviving the conflict with Philip, and kidnapped by Philip's agents, Boniface died of natural causes days after his release. A few years later, when Tolomeo was around seventy, the new pope, Clement V (1305–14), barred from Rome by its hostile citizens, took up residence in Avignon, where the papacy remained for seventy years, or over one hundred years if one counts the Avignon popes of the Great Schism, which followed within months of the papacy's return to Rome in 1378.

Tolomeo's century was the period of most rapid expansion of the two great new religious orders of Friars, the Franciscans and Tolomeo's own Dominicans. Throughout his life, the struggle intensified between the Spiritual and Conventional Franciscans, leading in places to armed uprisings against the church by the Spirituals, their supporters, and popular movements inspired by them, culminating in the disputes over apostolic poverty that would lead, near the end of Tolomeo's life, to Pope John XXII's 1321 condemnation of apostolic poverty as heretical and the consequent driving into exile of even the Conventional leadership. Throughout this period, and particularly in the year 1260, when Tolomeo was in his twenties, there were constant millennial expectations among Joachite Franciscans and others.

Tolomeo's century was also the highpoint of the medieval university and scholasticism. Thomas Aquinas was Tolomeo's contemporary and teacher; it was also the time of Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Giles of Rome, and many others. Great philosophical debates raged over the compatibility of Christianity with Aristotelian philosophy. Although Aristotle became omnipresent in the universities, his ideas often came under attack, most famously in the Parisian bishop Étienne Tempier's condemnations of 1277, when Tolomeo was around forty, and whose long list of 219 erroneous theses included some defended by Thomas Aquinas. In the 1260s Aristotle's *Politics* became available for the first time in its entirety in Latin.

In canon law, the *Decretales* was written near the time of Tolomeo's birth, and his early years were the highpoint of the decretalists who commented on it. Two of the three subsequent parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici* — the *Liber sextus* and the *Decrees of the Council of Vienne* — were issued and commented on in Tolomeo's lifetime, and most of the third, the *Decrees of John XXII*, was issued during that time as well.

Tolomeo's century was a time of increasing turmoil in northern Italy, where Tolomeo was born and spent much of his life. Factionalism, city-state rivalry, the ambitions of rich merchants and nobles, and the ambitions of the pope and northern European kings and emperors produced a volatile situation, and much violence. Cities that had been self-governing and in which representative institutions had evolved found themselves under the thumb of a tyrant, native oligarchies, or foreign conquerors. Coming from the business and political class of one such city, Tolomeo naturally was imbued with their ideology, even if this was in some ways modified by his religious education and his career in the church and in the Dominican order. By the late thirteenth century the various struggles had led the citizens of these cities, and not only of Tolomeo's class, to reject and hate monarchy, making the very word a 'term of abuse, a stigma to be cast at overmighty magnates or communes [...]. In place of universal *monarchia* local *libertas* — disparaged only by Dante [...] — was now regarded everywhere as sovereign.'⁵ So in some ways Tolomeo's attack on monarchy was not remarkable at all; it was merely a reflection of the common wisdom of the Italian communes. But what was lacking in this milieu was a theoretical framework for rejecting monarchy and a defence of republicanism. As usual, as Philip Jones notes, 'theory characteristically lagged behind fact'.⁶ Contemporary academic political theory,

⁵ Jones, *Italian City-State*, pp. 348–49.

⁶ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 352.

whether or not it favoured a role for the many, assumed that monarchy was the normal form of human government, reflecting the divine order, and the one best able to order human society. It is Tolomeo's provision of the needed framework that makes him so important in the history of republicanism.

Although Tolomeo was very much a man of his times, he also looked toward the future. In a famous article, Nicolai Rubinstein demonstrates the close connection between Aristotelian political thought, admiration of the Roman Republic, civic and Christian virtues, and the governmental ideals of northern Italian communes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries through a close analysis of a series of frescoes commissioned by the Sienese government for their Palazzo Pubblico.⁷ Though some elements of these connections only developed under the influence of humanism, for the most part they were all exemplified, as Rubinstein partially acknowledges, in the writings of Tolomeo Fiadoni, who died around the time the first of these frescoes was painted. What is most significant about Tolomeo's contribution is his fusion of theory and contemporary political practice, something seldom found in the Middle Ages, but which became increasingly common in the Renaissance and has become famous in Hans Baron's formulation of 'civic humanism'. Indeed, in an unpublished manuscript, Baron presents Tolomeo as the first civic humanist.⁸

⁷ Nicolai Rubinstein, 'Political Ideas in Sienese Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 179–207; see also 'Le allegorie di Ambrogio Lorenzetti nella Sala della Pace e il pensiero politico del suo tempo', *Rivista storica italiana*, 109 (1997), 781–802. Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, II: *Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), and elsewhere, disputes Rubinstein's analysis of the frescoes, but this does not affect my point here.

⁸ Hans Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper' (unpublished manuscript, Baron Papers, boxes 3 and 21, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Special Collections); available electronically at <<http://www.imprint-academic.com/laSalle>> [accessed October 2006]. On Hans Baron's formulation of 'civic humanism', see his *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966 [revision of the 1955 edn]).

COMPLEXITY AND CONTRADICTION

Almost everything that scholars, including myself, have written about Tolomeo is about his political thought. This is what we moderns find most important and interesting about him, partially because of the originality of his formulation of the best government, his dislike of monarchy, and his preference for participation, but also because we think we see in some parts of his writings early versions of our own beliefs. Even aside from this latter prejudice, and looking at Tolomeo from any perspective, no one could deny that his greatest contribution was in this area. Had *De iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis* and *De regimine principum* not survived, Tolomeo would be a mere footnote to medieval history (perhaps, considering his reputation today, I should say a shorter footnote). The two short treatises on the empire are nothing special, and despite their importance for understanding medieval events and the interest of some of their anecdotes, neither of his historical works, *Annales* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, are exceptionally innovative in their content, methodologies, points of view, or use of sources. Neither is his biblical commentary, *De operibus sex dierum*. Tolomeo wrote far more words in nonpolitical works, spent more time and effort writing them, and considered them to be more important. It is not even certain that during his lifetime he released to the public the object of our greatest admiration, *De regimine principum*. I too will concentrate on political ideas, but I want to put these ideas in their necessary context and not see them in isolation from everything else that was important to Tolomeo and helped to shape his mentality and worldview.

We tend to ignore aspects of the writers we analyse that do not have significance for us. Often this leads to misunderstanding and misrepresenting what the writers believed and converting them into primitive versions of ourselves. Thus, much early writing on Marsilius of Padua tended to stress the popular nature of the civil government in Discourse 1 of the *Defensor pacis* and to neglect the fact

that the longest part of that work by far, Discourse 2, was concerned with what Marsilius saw as the illegitimate seizure of coercive authority by the church, and that his other work was not as much concerned with popular sovereignty as with bolstering the authority of the Roman emperor. Once this was understood, the *Defensor pacis* itself could be re-evaluated, and without denying the revolutionary nature of Marsilius's political thought, we could realize that however sincerely he believed in the grounding of political authority in the 'whole body of the people' and however much he wanted it to be implemented in the northern Italian communes, his overriding reason for developing a theory of secular government was to prepare for an assault on the hierarchical church and its claims to temporal power.

Tolomeo was quite different, since he supported both republican government and papal hierocracy, so he cannot have developed a theory of one of them to bolster the other. On the contrary, there was a tension between them, as there was in much of his thought, political and nonpolitical, as a result of several influences that could not easily be synthesized. This was a common problem in the Middle Ages, as it is today, and it is only the tendency just mentioned to provide a one-dimensional and rigidly coherent portrait of one's subject that often obscures it. My own work, for example, has been mostly concerned with the Aristotelian elements in medieval political thought, and my focus frequently and of necessity leads to my giving too little attention to other factors. I sympathize with the tendency of scholarship in the past few decades to downplay the revolutionary nature of the introduction of Aristotle's *Politics* in the mid-thirteenth century and to emphasize how medieval writers used the new vocabulary and theoretical framework to bolster their own political outlook. There has been increasing interest in other 'voices' in medieval political thought. Antony Black lists five 'languages' spoken by educated medieval people, each with its own political vocabulary: theological, juridical, Ciceronian, Aristotelian, and native — all but the last of which were written in Latin. According to Black, in order to understand the change in thinking between the medieval and Renaissance periods, it is necessary to understand how all of these languages interacted and how they changed over time.¹

All of these voices helped to shape Tolomeo, but above all stand three intellectual traditions — Aristotelian political theory, Augustinian theology, and papal hierocratic theory. These traditions continually interacted with Tolomeo's profes-

¹ Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 7–10.

sional and spiritual experience in the Dominican order, his educational experience as a student of Thomas Aquinas and his concomitant methodological experience with scholasticism (which focused on discordant texts and opinions), his devotional and intellectual experience with Scripture, liturgy, and canon law, and his social experience as a member of the middle class of northern Italy and as a citizen of a republican city fervently defending its liberty. Undergirding all of this was the collection of attitudes and beliefs, customs and behaviours that was the common heritage of all medieval people of his place and time. Oftentimes these factors exerted contradictory influences on him, which led him to an intellectual struggle, not always admitted or successful, for consistency. I will concentrate on one struggle concerning political theory that deepened and became more intractable as his theoretical knowledge grew over the last three decades of the thirteenth century, but it is only one of many instances of internal conflict manifest in his work. Some conflicts, if unresolved, would have undermined the coherence of his works; others are mere curiosities. He struggled consciously to resolve some of them in a desperate attempt to perfect his ideas; of others he seemed blissfully unaware. In any case, they are the most fascinating aspects of his thought. We must attempt to see Tolomeo in all his complexity, which means constantly being aware of his internal conflicts and not trying to force him into a false consistency. If he showed indecisiveness or confusion we must try to understand its roots and how this uncertainty shaped his thought and writing.

We must also be sensitive to changes over time in Tolomeo's worldview, or his justification for it. Most likely, he started out with some little-thought-out ideas from the church and Augustine, together with opinions and habits he had picked up from family, friends, and the Dominicans. His years with Thomas Aquinas provided him with skill in the dialectical method and knowledge of the Aristotelian corpus, though probably not much familiarity with Aristotle's political works. His life in Italian cities and his family connections made him sympathetic to the communes, but he probably had not thought much about any theoretical basis for republican government. As his reading and circumstances changed, his intellectual sophistication matured, but this intensified the many conflicts in his thought: natural versus supernatural causation, Augustinian versus Aristotelian concepts of government, hierocratic versus republican rule, active versus contemplative life, reading and writing for pleasure versus admonition, love of detail versus concern with pattern and meaning, and gender complementarity versus gender polarity, to name a few. We should not expect absolute consistency in any person. Modern psychology has well documented the ability of humans to hold contradictory ideas simultaneously and the variety of internal mechanisms we employ to accomplish this without conscious distress.

In one unique passage in his introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii* Tolomeo addresses the embrace of contradiction inherent to the dialectical method as practised by Thomas Aquinas and tries to bring this into accord with Scripture and Aristotle's support for the Pythagorean belief that 'contraries are the principles of things':

As a wise one says, those who well define contraries establish them, and the same thing is true of the science of contraries. Thus Scripture, in considering the works of God in Ecclesiasticus, refers to the contraries: 'Good is set against evil, life against death, and the sinner against the just, thus you see in the works of the most high two and two, one against one'. The same idea also shows up in the arts and in doctrines: moral philosophy is the medicine of the well and the sick and Sacred Scripture the medicine of virtue and vice, on account of which scriptural exempla treat as much of the good as of the evil, and from the same consideration the Pythagoreans were moved in their reporting of natural phenomenon to write down a collection of contraries, as Aristotle tells us in the beginning of his philosophy. For these reasons, a [scholarly] question must be handled in the same way, using likely arguments, so that all ambiguity is removed in the material treated and truth illuminated more clearly through the opposites counterposed to it.²

Thus, contrariety is central not just to argument, as a way to understand and come to correct conclusions, but to the very essence of existence: all things are poised unstably between opposites and this opposition drives their development. Without contradiction, the world would be static, and such a condition pertains only to God and the world to come after the Last Judgement.

Those who share this outlook would perhaps not be as disturbed as post-Enlightenment scholars at the existence of contradictory influences and beliefs within themselves, and practically speaking, none of us are free from it. Such a

² Tolomeo Fiadoni (Tholomeus Lucensis), *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii* (henceforth and more correctly, *De iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis*), ed. by Marius Krammer, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui*, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909), pp. 1–65 (chap. 1, p. 4). 'Sed quia, ut sapiens dicit, qui bene diffiniunt contraria consignificant, et contrariorum eadem est disciplina, unde et Sacra scriptura in consideratione operum Dei ad contraria remittit, Ecc. XXXIII: "Contra," inquit, "malum bonum. contra vitam mors et contra iustum peccator, sic intuere in omnia opera altissimi duo et duo, unum contra unum—hoc etiam appetet in artibus et doctrinis; est enim medicina sani et egrorum phylosophia moralis et Sacra scriptura virtutis et vitii, propter quam causam tam bonorum quam malorum in eadem exempla traduntur, ex qua etiam consideratione in traditione rerum naturalium moti fuerunt Pitagorici collectionem contrariorum subscribere, ut narrat philosophus in principio sue Phylosophye—ad utramque partem deducenda est questio sub verisimilibus argumentis, ut omnis tollatur ambiguitas in pretaxata materia et veritas in oppositis iusta se positis clarius elucescat.' Aristotle talks about this principle in *Metaphysics*, I.5.986b; Thomas Aquinas is the 'wise one'; see *Summa theologiae*, I.75.6 con.

realization of the complexity of Tolomeo (and everyone else) alerts us to another pitfall of intellectual history. In this field one is usually more interested in a strand in the history of ideas than in the mentality of the particular writers whose works one studies. Scholars tend to rip isolated passages from their contexts and from various works within their area of interest and assemble them to suit their thesis. Unlike some others, I do not consider such an approach, if done thoughtfully, to be entirely or always inappropriate, since I think that it is valuable to trace ideas in this way, and I do it myself much of the time, but it cannot result in rounded portraits of the writers being studied, nor of their times and cultural milieus. When applied to the work of a single author, such procedures often obscure the development of the author over time and the purpose for which the texts were written, which clearly condition the texts' form and content. They also tend to accept what an author says at face value. One of Tolomeo's complaints about Pope John XXI was that, contrary to the advice of Valerius Maximus to rulers, he allowed everyone to see him as he really was, instead of cultivating a public persona.³ Likewise, Tolomeo, like any writer, may choose to present himself to the world in a way at odds with his true self.

Evaluating Tolomeo's many influences is always problematic, and this is especially true with respect to Aristotle's *Politics*. Nor will picking out a few themes from Tolomeo's many writings provide sufficient evidence for understanding his mentality, even in the single area of political thought. Instead, I will look both at his historical works, to try to understand his view of the nature of humankind and of history, and at his more celebrated political views. I include *De operibus sex dierum* among the historical works — though it does not seem to be such to us today — since Tolomeo regarded the events of Genesis as historical, and he may have intended ultimately to join his historical works in a single world history from Creation to his own time. If this is the case, we might expect that Tolomeo was trying to promote an overall view of meaning in history, especially God's work in history, much as Augustine did in *City of God* or Otto von Freising in *The Two Cities*. Tolomeo never made a strong statement of such a worldview, but we can piece one together, and he did frequently invoke a principle of justice acting in the world to assure a dismal fate for sinful individuals in positions of authority.

In the preface to his *Annales*, Tolomeo gives a lengthy gloss on Proverbs 15.23, 'people rejoice in the opinion of their mouths, and suitable discourse is best', the

³ Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolomaeus Lucensis), *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. by Ludovico A. Muratori, 28 vols (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1723–51), xi (1727), cols 751–1242 (xxiii.21, col. 1176).

first part of which I cited above to illustrate Tolomeo's joy in writing and reading. In its sentiments, and in its combination of classical and biblical sources, the gloss as a whole provides a good introduction to the character, interests, and approach of Tolomeo. In the part not yet cited, he extends the metaphor of a feast to extol the merits of historical writing in particular:

But just as delight in food arises from variety, that writing is more delightful which reports the acts and deeds of rulers, of a city, or of some private person who has excelled in his work over a period of time. This indeed is what the words of the cited authority [Proverbs 15.23] demonstrate when it adds, 'and suitable discourse is best'. For suitable discourse is called best when it is read or heard with delight, which results either from the matter of the discourse, which by its nature brings forth sweetness, as something concerning celestial or divine things, the least glimpse of which, as Aristotle says in *On Animals*, Book IX, is more desirable and pleasurable than the most certain cognition of lesser and inferior things, or it results from the novelty of the thing, like exceptional and unusual food, which is eaten avidly by those reclining at table. Therefore suitable discourse, that is, discourse properly proportionate to its hearers, is called best. It is also called suitable, that is, necessary to humanity for considering the vicissitudes and changeability of the worldly condition, because with time slipping away it also slips away. The situation is similar to that when a person rests on a round globe, with the intention of steadyng the feet on it, but instead the person is moved even more and has a precipitous fall, and instead of having joy from moving experiences sorrow, for which reason Ecclesiastes [actually Proverbs 14.13] says, 'sorrow takes hold of the ends of joy, and laughter is mixed with sadness', from which consideration, perhaps, the prophet says 'Wail, you inhabitants of the globe', that is, people of the world, who are held up by the globe, on which one rests fleetingly. Considering this, Solomon, as one who experienced those things, defines the whole state of the world as vanity, and at the end demonstrates the proper firmness: 'Let us all hear equally the end of speaking, "fear God and observe his commandment, for this is humanity's all".'

This best end is said to be brought forth by the suitable discourse already mentioned. Because, therefore, when the deeds of rulers or popes or cities or castles over time are remembered, they include the things mentioned, whether from the point of view of the writer or reader or listener, and because their fluxibility admonishes us once again to have contempt for the world, it seems suitable to report something of them. But because a diffuse discourse often leads to aversion and because, as the blessed Gregory testifies, when foods are spread out in less abundance they are eaten more avidly, we will begin to relate the deeds mentioned only from 240 years ago, or thereabouts, beginning with the time of Pope Alexander II, who was previously the Luccan bishop, and his contemporary, Emperor Henry [III].⁴

⁴ *Annales*, pp. 2–3: 'In cibo autem aggerneratur delectatio, quando variatur; sic et de scriptura contingit, quia plus delectat, quando per successum temporis novi referuntur actus et gesta sive principum sive civitatis seu alicuius private persone propter sui excellentiam operis. Et hoc quidem demonstrant verba sequentia auctoritatis propositae, cum subditur: "et sermo oportunus optimus

The various reasons Tolomeo introduces here in defence of historical writing are not completely compatible. One tension in particular is apparent: are we to read and write history for the pleasure it provides or as an admonition to have contempt for the world and its affairs? Or does the latter sentiment merely represent a conventional beginning of a secular historical work full of blood and death? Despite the pessimism, Tolomeo was not, even here, promoting the common idea that in the senescence of the world humans are becoming worse or more corrupt. Rather, he is arguing that worldly affairs are always, by their nature, unpredictable, and joys are fleeting, leaving God as the only source of stability and service to him as the only sure way to ultimate happiness.

Tolomeo's dedicatory letter to Guillaume de Bayonne in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* reads quite differently and proposes another purpose for historical writing. Citing Augustine, Tolomeo writes that ecclesiastical history benefits Christians greatly in directing them to virtuous acts. For the same reason, Tolomeo adds — here perverting Augustine's intent — political and governmental histories benefit rulers. As an example, Tolomeo mentions the Persian king Ahasuerus from the

est." Tunc enim oportunus sermo optimus dicitur, quando delectabiliter legitur vel auditur; quod contingit vel ex sermonis materia, que sui natura suavitatem aggenerat, ut de celestibus et divinis, quorum minima notitia, ut philosophus dicit in IX de animalibus, desiderabilior et delectabilior quam certissima cognitio de minimis et inferioribus rebus; vel contingit delectatio ex ipsius rei novitate tanquam singularis et insoliti cibi, qui a discubentibus avidus sumitur; et ideo talis sermo sic oportunus, hoc est proportionatus auditoribus debite optimus appellatur. Dicitur etiam oportunus, id est necessarius homini ad considerandum variatatem ac mobilitatem mundane conditionis, quia cum labente tempore labitur. Assimilatur enim pile rotunde, cui quis innitendo, dum firmare super ipsam pedes intendit, magis movetur casumque facit precipitem ac de gaudio tam mobili luctum facit, propter quod dicit in Ecclesiaste, quod "extrema gaudii luctus occupat, risusque dolore miscetur," quo etiam forte intuitu dicit propheta: "Ullulate habitores pile," id est homines mundani, qui etiam pila sustentamini, cui labilis est innixus. Hoc autem considerans Salomon sicut horum experimentator omnem statum mundi vanitatem diffinit ultimoque concludit debitam firmitatem: "Finem," inquit, "loquendi pariter audiamus: Deum time et mandata eius observa, hoc est enim omnis homo." Qui quidem finis optimus dicitur aggeneratus, videlicet oportuno sermone iam dicto. Quia igitur memorata gesta principum ac summorum pontificum sive civitatum sive castrorumper successionem temporis predicta continent, sive ex parte scribentis sive legentis sive audiens, rursumque ex ipsorum fluxibilitate ad contemptum mundi nos admonent, congruum videtur de ipsis aliquid tradere; sed quia sermonis diffusio sepius fastidium generat et, ut testatur beatus Gregorius, alimenta dum minus porriguntur sumuntur avidius, a ducentis solum quadraginta annis vel circa prefata gesta summemus, incipientes ab Alexandro papa secundo, qui fuerat ante Lucanus episcopus, et ab Henrico eius contemporaneo Imperatore.¹ Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, was a key member of the church reform party, who became Pope Alexander II (1061–73).

Book of Esther. Stricken with insomnia from worry about his government, Ahasuerus spent his sleepless nights reading histories and the annals of other rulers. Learning about the past helped him make his own decisions, as well as being joyful in itself, ‘since through such writings the soul is lifted up from sluggish and irritable acts’.⁵ The implication is that all citizens in a republic would share this double benefit of edification and pleasure were they to study such works. Another implication is that political and moral virtue are analogous and equally worthy.

To be sure, Tolomeo thought we were closer to the end, so time was ‘slipping away’, and so too human history, but there was no reason to see the human condition as declining. In some ways, he argues in some of his writings, it has improved. In seeming contradiction to what he set forth in the preface to *Annales* about turning away from the world, he suggests in the letter to Guillaume and in *De regimine principum* that the way to improvement lies through the active, not the contemplative, life. By this he did not primarily mean activity in worldly religious service like that of his Dominican order or the secular clergy, but rather activity in the political affairs of one’s community. The same person wrote *Annales* and *De regimine principum*, and around the same time, so the difference cannot easily be explained through an evolution of his beliefs. We can only explain it through unresolved tensions in his thought, unless we accept Hans Baron’s suggestion that Tolomeo became disillusioned with politics after the disastrous events at the end of Boniface VIII’s reign, which possibly separate the two works, but that he had recovered his old optimism by the time of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*.⁶ This explanation seems unlikely to me and entirely unsupported by any evidence; whatever stimulated Tolomeo to express these ideas, we can find traces of both of them throughout his life, and ambivalence on whether the active or contemplative life was preferable is characteristic of many of the early humanists of the fourteenth century.

Despite their fascinating preliminary materials, *Annales* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova* are not as pleasurable for modern people to read as Tolomeo might have hoped. In keeping with the conventions of their genres, they cover long historical periods, with little specific detail about any one particular year or person. But by paying careful attention to unusual comments Tolomeo makes or to untypical events he covers, we can determine something of his interests and ideas.

⁵ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, Dedicatory Letter, col. 751.

⁶ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, p. 80 (65), argues that Boniface VIII’s humiliation caused Tolomeo to put off publishing *De regimine principum*, but he did not consider the conflict I mention here.

Occasionally he inserts colourful details that hint at his personality and at the medieval view of the world, which may not be as easily discerned from his formal theoretical works. Although he was contrasting chronicles with documents, not treatises, Johan Huizinga realized many years ago that medieval historians who spurn chronicles as unreliable historical sources fail to recognize ‘the tone that separates us from those times’, which comes through in the former but not the latter.⁷ And despite their similar approach, Tolomeo’s historical works differ in several ways, which in itself reveals much of Tolomeo’s mentality and shows that he never resolved his contradictory understanding of divine action in the world.

Tolomeo lived in a world alive with signs, in which miracles were commonplace and expected, and in which angels and demons cluttered the atmosphere, contending for souls and tormenting or helping individuals. Yet his reliance on Aristotelian rationalism and his recording of the practical actions and concerns of the governments and institutions suggests that he sought to provide naturalistic explanations for phenomena. Rather than directly confronting these two worldviews, Tolomeo tended, with few exceptions, toward naturalism in his political theoretical and secular historical works, and toward a more supernatural outlook in his religious and ecclesiastical historical ones. A few examples will illustrate this point, and I will return to this subject in later chapters.

Like most annalists, Tolomeo recorded natural disasters and unusual celestial phenomena. He mentions earthquakes most often, followed by fires and floods, and he describes a few instances of drought and famine. In *Annales* Tolomeo generally reports these disasters without much comment, except occasionally to say something of the death toll or that many houses and towers were destroyed, and without treating them as omens or punishment. Only in one case, a flood at the bridge of Placentia in 1239 that prevented the advance of Frederick II, does Tolomeo report that it was called a miracle, and this reads more like a conventional saying than a real belief.⁸

Signs and omens play a much larger part in *De operibus sex dierum* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. Tolomeo devotes one treatise of the former to the creation of heavenly bodies on the Fourth Day and on the ways that these bodies affect humans, that is, their astrological influence. In particular, he comments on a text

⁷ Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. by Rodney Payton and Ulrich Mamitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 8–9 (first publ. as *L’automne du moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1924)).

⁸ *Annales*, 1239, p. 123.

of Genesis that states that the heavenly lights serve as signs.⁹ Tolomeo's attitude toward astrology in this work is different from that in his political works, which do not generally treat heavenly events as omens. In *De regimine principum* he writes instead about the personality of peoples born under certain signs, but in a manner in accord with his generally naturalistic treatment of celestial phenomena, since he treats astrology as a science whose purpose was to uncover the effects of natural physical processes. This approach prevailed in the Middle Ages, although some, following Augustine, condemned astrology as anti-Christian for its opposition to free will or its connection with demons. In *De regimine principum*, Tolomeo does not specifically extend the reach of astrology to anything beyond the conditioning of human nature by the geographical region in which one lived, but he is clear that the stars do circumscribe human command of their wills and do not simply influence physical events.¹⁰ But although astrology offered a way to rationalize the irrational and naturalize the supernatural, Tolomeo almost never tried to do this or to explain specific events through astrology in any of the historical and political theoretical works.

In contrast, in *De operibus sex dierum* Tolomeo defends astrology only when applied to purely physical matters or as a sign from God, not to the intellect or will. He warns that 'the astrologers attribute many things to the planets through their various effects on us, some of which are true, but others are fabulous'.¹¹ Although this work more sharply delimits the areas within which astrology might operate, it also undermines the naturalism of the other works by asserting that these signs went beyond physical causation. Were the phenomena purely natural, Tolomeo writes, there would be no reason to expect them at the death of a king more than at the death of a peasant, but examples prove the contrary, such as the comet that preceded the coming of Charles of Anjou to Italy in opposition to Manfred and continued for six years until the Tartars killed the sultan, or another comet, mentioned above, that coincided with the coming of Charles of Valois, or two comets in ancient Greece, one at the death of King Demetrius and another before an important battle. Tolomeo concedes that battles and plagues might have

⁹ Tolomeo Fiadoni (Tholomaeus de Luca), *Exaemeron, seu De operibus sex dierum Tractatus* (henceforth and more correctly *De operibus sex dierum*), ed. by Thomas Masetti (Siena: S. Bernardino, 1880), bk vi, pp. 70–84; Genesis 1. 14.

¹⁰ *De regimine principum*, II.8.4.

¹¹ *De operibus sex dierum*, III.8, p. 43: 'Multa autem reperiuntur per dictos astrologos attributa planetis secundum diversos effectus eorum in nobis, quae partim continent veritatem, partim sunt fabulosa.'

a naturalistic explanation through the influence of heavenly objects on bodily humours, but he also cites John Damascene to affirm his belief that when an important person dies, God creates a comet *ex novo* for the occasion, as he did at the birth of Jesus.¹²

In all his works, even the political ones, Tolomeo depicts a moral force acting in history to ensure that bad people come to a bad end. In *De regimine principum* and *De iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae* Tolomeo explains this by identifying tyrants, persecutors, and schismatics with the Gates of Hell of the Petrine commission, which, Christ promised Peter, would never prevail.¹³ In *Annales* he merely records the ‘bad death’ of evildoers. In various works, he also reveals his conviction that bad deeds are often, though not always, punished in this life, and that this could happen even to those who are generally good.

Tolomeo seems less interested in showing a reward for virtue, revealing him as someone concerned with the eternal problem of theodicy: how to explain the bad things that happen to people. He believed that those who are faithful to God and the church deserve success in their affairs and a peaceful death, but he reports bad deaths much more frequently. *De iurisdictione imperii* singles out three emperors who justly enjoyed their prosperity and power as a result of their good actions — Constantine, Justinian, and Charlemagne — as well as the three persecutors — Julian the Apostate, Otto IV, and Frederick II — who got the punishments they deserved.¹⁴ Though he sometimes finds a connection between evil and eventual punishment, he shows no strong conviction that there is a necessary connection between virtue and reward. Perhaps this is because he did not think that God normally intervenes in the events of history, but that he did have something to do with the time and manner of each person’s death. Besides, peaceful deaths are not very interesting to report.

This may also explain why, for one so intent on finding meaning in history, Tolomeo rarely invoked miracles. For example, in *Annales*, other than a few of Dominic’s, the mere mention that miracles were credited to Thomas Aquinas,

¹² *De operibus sex dierum*, VI.3–4, pp. 72–79.

¹³ *De regimine principum*, III.10.4; Tolomeo Fiadoni (attr. Nicolaus Roselli de Aragon), *Tractatus de iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae* (henceforth *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*), in *Miscellanea, I: Monumenta historica tum sacra tum profane*, ed. by Étienne Baluze and Giovanni Domenico Mansi (Lucca: Riccomini, 1761), pp. 468–73 (ti. 4, p. 470b).

¹⁴ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 5, pp. 14–15. The theme of the bad deaths of emperors who persecuted Christianity and the prosperous life of those that served it goes back at least to Lactantius’s *On the Death of the Persecutors* of 321.

and a few loose uses of ‘miraculous’, the only miracle is an old one, the miraculous translation of the bodies of the Magi from Constantinople to St Eustorgius, Bishop of Milan, in the fourth century. Tolomeo refers to this one only because in 1162 Frederick Barbarossa shipped the remains off to Cologne.¹⁵ His report of this incident is also his only mention of relics, other than some associated with the crusades, and Tolomeo tended to present odd events without supernatural explanation. He treats the long life of an allegedly 362-year-old man, Johannes de Temporibus, Charlemagne’s squire, who supposedly died in 1145, simply as a natural event.¹⁶ Somewhat miraculous, though again treated as a natural occurrence, was a Toledan Jew’s discovery of an ancient book in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin foretelling the birth of Christ from the Virgin Mary for the world’s salvation, and the Jew’s subsequent conversion.¹⁷

Much more frequently than miracles Tolomeo reports oddities, such as the old man mentioned above and the giant dug up in 1067, which he adapts from Martinus’s account:

In the same year, at Rome the body of a certain giant was found whole, by the name of Pallas, who was the son of King Evandrus, the cleft of whose wound, where he was wounded, was three and one half feet. His body also was higher than a tower, as Martin says. A lamp was found at his head, which could neither be extinguished by breath or liquid, but when a hole was made below with a stylus the flame was extinguished when air was introduced through the hole. It is said that King Turnus, who was the King of Tuscany, had killed him at the time of Aeneas, when he came from Troy against Roman territory, whose fame came from the epitaph on his tomb, which is reported to have been: ‘He whom the lance of the knight Turnus had killed, lies here in his own manner’.

Tolomeo added the mention of Aeneas to the original account, and added even more when he later retold it in greater detail in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. There he asserts that there was a lot more to say about the lamp, based on the nature of a vacuum, but that this would go beyond the scope of the work.¹⁸ All these things portray someone who was fascinated by a good story, especially if it had something

¹⁵ *Annales*, 1162, p. 64.

¹⁶ *Annales*, 1145, p. 53.

¹⁷ *Annales*, 1231, p. 118.

¹⁸ *Annales*, 1067, p. 7; *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XIX.30, col. 1061; cf. Martinus Oppaviensis (also known as Martinus Polonus or Martin von Troppau), *Chronicon de romanis pontificum et imperatorum*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicorum*, 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), pp. 377–482 (Imperatores, p. 467). *Historia ecclesiastica nova* corrected a few details that *Annales* incorrectly cited from Martinus: the wound was 4.5 feet long and the giant was taller than a wall.

odd or unique about it, as well as someone who saw God's hand constantly in history, but not in the way that is often presented as the medieval viewpoint. He expected God to manifest his powers in directing the flow of events, not in relics or miracles. There was nothing miraculous, for example, about the bad deaths of captured schismatics, but it was satisfying and right that this should happen, and God would quietly see that it did. We will see later that Tolomeo also believed that at times God would intervene through natural causes to give rule to the virtuous or take it away from the evil.

This does not negate the fact that Tolomeo's normal overall analysis of worldly events, and particularly of the affairs of political entities, is naturalistic, without frequent appeals to divine intervention. Clearly there is some tension between these two approaches, but Tolomeo kept it somewhat at bay by not often insisting on divine causation in the works of political theory and secular history. That the difference was not merely one of his development over time is proved by the persistence of both sets of ideas in works of these types written throughout Tolomeo's career.

In the pages to come I will look in more detail at this and the various other conflicts manifest in Tolomeo's thought, which are critical if we want to understand him and his works better. First, however, we must reconstruct the events of his life.

Chapter 3

SOURCES FOR TOLOMEO'S LIFE

While we do not know most of the details of Tolomeo's life, we do know enough to sketch out the major events, activities, and offices of his long career, and to make us extremely curious about what we do not know. Most mysterious of all is his bizarre quarrel with his superior, the Patriarch of Grado, over the election of an abbess of St Anthony's cloister in Torcello, where Tolomeo was appointed bishop when he was well over eighty. Why would a pious Catholic so near death risk his immortal soul and bear a lengthy excommunication for the sake of a nun he is unlikely to have known before coming to Torcello a short time earlier, and why would a strong supporter of ecclesiastical hierarchy stubbornly defy the orders of his metropolitan in a case in which the superior's jurisdiction was undeniable?

There are no contemporary or later medieval biographies of Tolomeo. The earliest are several short accounts that appeared from the sixteenth through the early nineteenth centuries, most of them by fellow Luccans and brothers at San Romano, or by editors of his works. The *Chronicle of San Romano* compiled in 1525 by Ignazio Manardi (also known as Manandro), a brother in the convent, mentions Tolomeo's priorate but gives few details.¹ The first serious biographical sketch came in 1719 with the publication of *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*.²

¹ Ignazio Manandro of Ferrara, *Libro cronicorum conventus Sancti Romani di Luca*, Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS n. 2572, dated 1525. There is a modern edition of this work, *La 'Cronaca' del convento domenicano di S. Romano di Lucca*, ed. by Armando F. Verde and Domenico Corsi, *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., 21 (Pistoia: Centro riviste della Provincia Romana, 1990), pp. i-lxxxv, 1–375.

² *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. by Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard, 2 vols (Paris: Ballard-Simart, 1719–21), II, 541–44.

This was quickly followed, in 1727, by Ludovico Muratori's comments on Tolomeo in the introduction to his edition of Tolomeo's *Historia ecclesiastica nova*.³ A few years later, Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, another brother in San Romano, gathered together the biographical information about Tolomeo and combined this with a vigorous defence against what he felt were Muratori and others' attacks on Tolomeo's character.⁴ This survives in only one autograph manuscript at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, as does an even more important work of di Poggio on the history of San Romano. In it, di Poggio edited or excerpted all the documentary evidence available to him in Lucca and used it systematically to reconstruct the life and work of Tolomeo.⁵ Though much of this is outdated today, and we have many more sources available to us which concern both Tolomeo himself and the events of his time, di Poggio's text is invaluable for its preservation of the content of a number of documents that have now disappeared, for its transcription of documents whose condition has now deteriorated, and for its assistance to us in reading more easily even the ones that survive in good condition. We can be sure from the accuracy of the transcriptions of this latter group that we can rely on his transcriptions of the lost parchments. In the late eighteenth century Francesco Baroni gave a very brief (one page) chronology of the Fiadoni family,⁶ and early in the next century, Cesare Lucchesini wrote a short biography of Tolomeo as part of his survey of Luccan literary history.⁷

At the end of the nineteenth century there was a brief flurry of interest in Tolomeo. Within four years, in the 1870s, there were separate biographical treat-

³ Ludovico A. Muratori, preface to *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, cols 743–48, with additional comments by Joseph A. Saxius in a dedicatory letter to Muratori, cols 748–49.

⁴ Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, *Memorie della religione domenicana nella nazione lucchese*, pt II: *Memorie di molti religiosi domenicani lucchese illustri e commendabili*, Archivio del Convento Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, Fondo PR, F.IV.40, pp. 40–61 (Part I, *Memorie del convento di San Romano di Lucca*, is lost).

⁵ Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, *Aneddoti e altre memorie riguardanti la religione domenicana particolar la provincia romana e principalmente il convento di San Romano di Lucca estratte dall'archivio e da altri luoghi dello stesso convento di San Romano*, I: *Dall'anno 1236 all'anno 1336* (Lucca, 1774), Archivio del Convento Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, Fondo PR, L.IV.43 (the other volumes are lost).

⁶ Francesco Baroni, *Famiglie lucchesi — Fiadoni*, Archivio di Stato di Lucca, MS 125, t. II, fol. 109.

⁷ Cesare Lucchesini, *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca*, IX: *Della storia letteraria del ducato di Lucca* (Lucca: Bertini, 1825), bk 2, chaps 2–3, pp. 103–14.

ments by the German scholars Karl Krüger and Dietrich König.⁸ Several other articles about Tolomeo came out around this time, as well as new editions of several of his works, including the recently discovered *De operibus sex dierum*. Most of these included some treatment of Tolomeo's life. In the early twentieth century Innocenzo Taurisano, another brother of San Romano, published a history of Luccan Dominicans, with much attention to Tolomeo and particularly his relationship to the *conversa* Countess Capoana.⁹ After this, interest in both his life and thought lagged until the 1970s, when Charles Till Davis published two important articles on Tolomeo and republicanism.¹⁰ In the interim almost all the discussion that existed was in the context of analysis of the works of Tolomeo's teacher, Thomas Aquinas, specifically the question of whether Tolomeo wrote all, part, or none of the last three books of a treatise ascribed to Thomas, *De regimine principum*, also known as *De regno, ad regem Cypri*. Tolomeo was also frequently discussed as an authority on Thomas's life: as his student, companion, confessor, biographer, and provider of information on Thomas for his canonization hearing.

In recent years, Emilio Panella, a scholar, professor of theology, and brother in the convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, where Tolomeo was prior, has published a number of articles on Tolomeo characterized by careful attention to codicological and manuscript evidence. In addition, his continuation of Thomas Kaepelli's new version of *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi* provides especially valuable information on the manuscript sources for the life of Tolomeo.

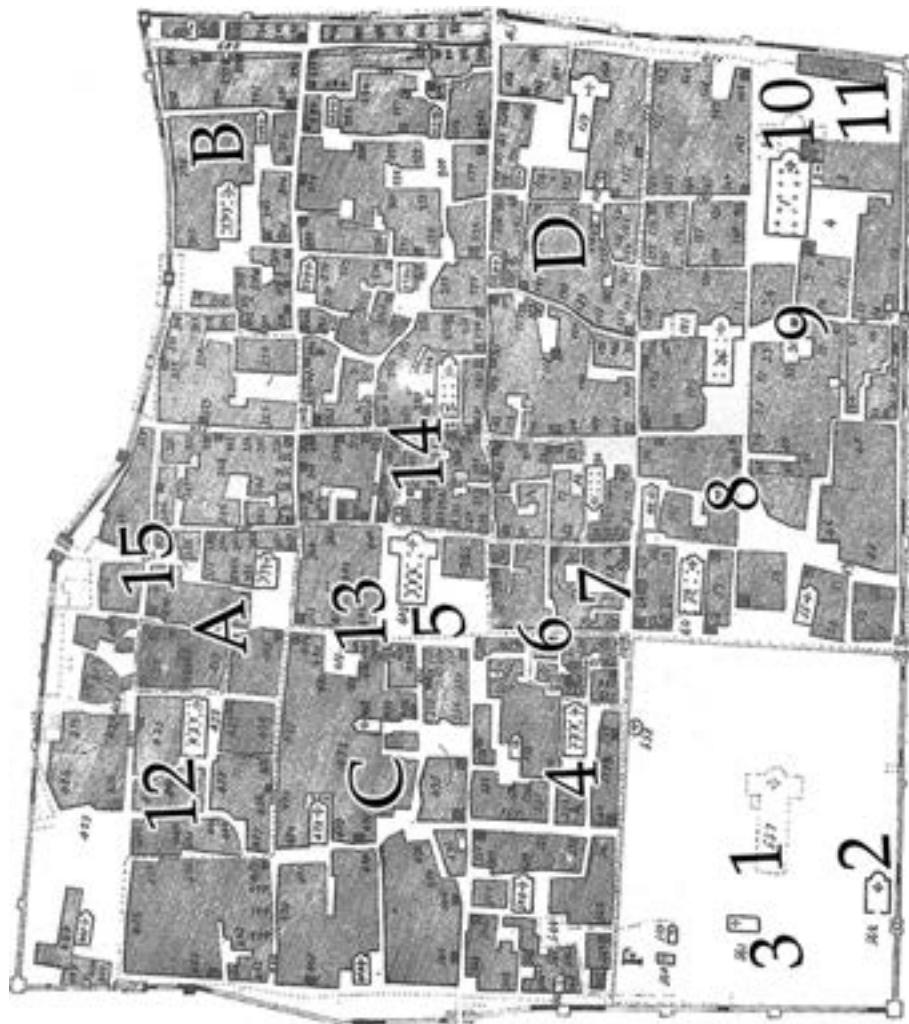
In his own writings Tolomeo furnishes some information about his life. Particularly in his *Historia ecclesiastica nova* and *Annales* he occasionally breaks into the first person to relate a personal experience or authenticate his claims by asserting that he witnessed the events being narrated. To a lesser extent he does this in other works as well. There are also many documents concerning him in the archives of Lucca, particularly those from the monastery of San Romano,

⁸ Karl Krüger, *Des Ptolomäus Lucensis: Leben und Werke* (Göttingen: Peppmüller, 1874); Dietrich König, *Tolomeo von Lucca: Ein biographischer Versuch* (Harburg: Lühmann, 1878). Though books, these are little more than long articles.

⁹ Innocenzo Taurisano, *I domenicani in Lucca* (Lucca: Baroni, 1914).

¹⁰ Charles Till Davis, 'Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic', *Proceedings of the American Philosophic Society*, 118 (1974), 30–50 (repr. in Davis, *Dante's Italy and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 254–89), and 'Roman Patriotism and Republican Propaganda: Ptolemy of Lucca and Pope Nicholas III', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 411–33.

now in the state archives. In addition there are a few relevant documents in the Florentine and Venetian archives, the papal archives, and the records of the Dominican order, as well as a number that have been edited by various sixteenth- to eighteenth-century writers. Although I have found a few documents that have not been cited before, for the most part these documents were consulted by Panella and previous biographers, and they will be central to my biography as well. I do benefit from the fact that I have all the documents uncovered so far available to me, while each of the others had only a part of them.



Legend

- | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Future San Romano, begun c. 1240 | 7. Mordecastelli House and Tower | 14. Ricciardi House |
| 2. Old San Romano | 8. Obizi House and Tower | 15. Iacobo Fiadoni House |
| 3. San Giuliano | 9. Bernarducci Tower | A. Quarter of Porta San Frediano |
| 4. Church of San Alessandro Maggiore | 10. Cathedral of San Martino | B. Quarter of Porta San Gervasio |
| 5. Church of San Michele | 11. Episcopal Palace | C. Quarter of Porta San Donato |
| 6. Via de Pozzorelli (now Via Vittorio Veneto) | 12. Volpelli House | D. Quarter of Porta San Pietro |
| | 13. Palazzo of the Commune | |

Map of Lucca in 1200, in Giuseppe Matraia, *Lucca nel milleduecento memoria* (Lucca: Guidotti, 1844), numbers and letters for the legend added by Blythe.

BIOGRAPHY

Tolomeo probably loved food more than was proper for a Dominican friar. On one occasion, he was given a penance for holding a feast at San Romano, and he delighted in food metaphors. One of these, which describes the joys of heaven, occurs at the end of *De operibus sex dierum*. Tolomeo describes God himself as embodying all delicious flavours. He adds that in their final experience of the divine vision, the saved ‘will be satiated with a satiety of food without distaste, with pleasure without its contrary, and in it the appetite will be equalized most perfectly with the perfection of plenitude, as its proper object, and will rest without further motion’.¹ In *De iurisdictione imperii* Tolomeo opposes the true beatitude of the heavenly kingdom to the false one proposed by philosophers, but still insists that Christ promised food and drink as part of this beatitude.²

Tolomeo also loved reading and writing, as we learn from the prologue to *Annales*. He hints at some ambivalence about deriving pure enjoyment from scholarly activities when he immediately follows this expression of pleasure with the plauditinous comment that reading and writing are in fact valuable chiefly in demonstrating the transient nature of worldly affairs and its successes. Otherwise, we find scant clues to his personality in his writing. The body of the chronicle, for example, consists of a terse outline of Tuscan, papal, and imperial history between 1063 and 1303, with a focus on Lucca and the effects of external events

¹ *De operibus sex dierum*, Epilogue, xv.8, p. 238: ‘Cui soli competit esse delectamentum gustantibus, et omnis saporis suavitatem habere [...] illo mirifico satientur cibo satietate sine fastidio, cum delectatione sine contrario, et in ipsa appetitus perfectione plenitudinis perfectissime adequatur, sicut eius proprium objectum and sine ulteriori motu quiescit.’

² *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 28, p. 58.

on that city. Especially prominent are endless wars, factional conflict, and natural disasters. Absent from this narrative, and from any of his other works, are the origins and early history of Lucca or anything about his own family or himself, other than six uses of the first person singular pronoun in the *Annales* and a few elsewhere to attest to something he himself saw. There is also little other than the selection of the events themselves to tell us what he thought about them or how they affected him. The selection in itself is quite revealing, and as Mariella Micheli points out, Tolomeo's narration depicts the evolution of Lucca as a commercial city and its never-ending struggle to maintain its independence and economic power.³

Since Tolomeo and his ideas were closely tied to the communal and Guelph milieu in which he grew up, I begin his biography with a short history of Lucca. His take on the events of Luccan history, however terse, illuminates his own interests and personality, as well as what was important to him. I will refer to Tolomeo's treatment of events throughout and especially for the period of his conscious life whenever possible, being careful to note when this departs from historical fact. I hope that this in turn will bring new insights to his more theoretical writings.

Another reason I decided to do this is because, surprisingly, it is quite difficult to find this information, since there are no good narratives of Luccan history in English, and even the good ones in Italian are quite old. Several excellent studies of particular eras or institutions, like Louis Green's volumes on Castruccio Castracani and the commune in the fourteenth century, M. E. Bratchel's study of the republican revival in the fifteenth century, Christine Meek's work on the Pisan period and the late fourteenth century, and Duane Osheim's work on the Luccan bishopric and the monastery of San Guamo, lack any kind of systematic treatment of the city, and there is a dearth of materials for times earlier than the fourteenth century.⁴

³ Mariella Micheli, 'Uno storcio di storia lucchese visto attraverso gli *Annales* di Tolomeo Fiadoni', in *Da Dante a Cosimo I: Ricerche di storia religiosa e culturale toscana nei secoli XIV–XVI*, ed. by Domenico Maselli (Pistoia: Tellini, 1980), pp. 78–91 (p. 79).

⁴ Louis Green, *Castruccio Castracani: A Study on the Origins and Character of a Fourteenth-Century Italian Despotism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) and *Lucca under Many Masters: A Fourteenth-Century Italian Commune in Crisis (1328–1342)* (Florence: Olschki, 1995); M. E. Bratchel, *Lucca 1430–1494: The Reconstruction of an Italian City-Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Christine Meek, *The Commune of Lucca under Pisan Rule, 1342–1369* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980) and *Lucca 1369–1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Duane

Lucca was one of the most important cities in northern Italy in its commerce and political power. Until the ascent of Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Lucca was the most important city of Tuscany and contested Florence and Pisa for primacy for several centuries. Even after Florence surpassed it by most measures by around 1300, it remained a major power, and Dante, not a neutral observer, treated it in *Inferno* as the epitome of greed, crass materialism, and debased religion, in the process mocking some of Luccans most holy symbols:

Then from our bridge, he called: 'O Malebranche, I've got an elder of Saint Zita for you! Shove this one under — I'll go back for more — His city is well furnished with such stores; There, everyone's a grafter but Bonturo; And there — for cash — they'll change a no to yes' [...]. The sinner plunged, then surfaced, black with pitch; But now the demons, from beneath the bridge, Shouted: 'The Sacred Face has no place here. Here we swim differently than in the Serchio; If you don't want to feel our grappling hooks, Don't try to lift yourself above that ditch.'⁵

Lucca was one of the few cities that remained a republic through the Renaissance (in fact until Napoleon conquered it), although it went through fifty years of despotism and oppression in the fourteenth century, beginning with its conquest in 1314 by Uguccione della Faggiuola (c. 1250–1319) — around the time Tolomeo published *Historia ecclesiastica nova* — and continuing with the rule of Castruccio Castracani (1316–28), who had been granted the title Duke of Lucca shortly before Tolomeo died. It developed commercially much earlier than Florence and Pisa, but it never was as large in population as the other two, nor even as some other, lesser powers. At their medieval heights, Pisa and Siena likely contained around fifty thousand or more people and Florence one hundred thousand, but Lucca likely capped at no more than fifteen to thirty thousand. Bologna, Genoa, Milan, and Venice were many times larger than Lucca, and even Perugia, Piacenza, Padua, and Verona, to mention a few, were larger.⁶

J. Osheim, *An Italian Lordship: The Bishopric of Lucca in the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) and *A Tuscan Monastery and its Social World: San Michele of Guamo (1156–1348)* (Rome: Herder, 1989).

⁵ Dante, *Inferno*, 21.37–51, trans. by Allen Mandelbaum (1980), <<http://dante.ilt.columbia.edu/comedy/>> [accessed June 2008]. Dante was poking fun at the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face), a reverenced cross in Lucca, Santa Zita, a servant-girl saint, and Bonturo Dati, a leader of the popular party in the early years of the fourteenth century who was accused of corruption.

⁶ Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, p. 20, considers various ways of estimating the population in the early fourteenth century and concludes that it peaked at fifteen to twenty-five thousand. Jones, *Italian City-State*, pp. 153, 192–93, 273, lists the Luccan population as fifteen thousand in 1331, before the population collapse caused by the plague mid-century. In contrast, George

Lucca is one of the oldest settlements in Tuscany, dating back to Celto-Ligurian foundations around 1000 BCE, centuries before the legendary 753 BCE foundation of Rome. The name *Luk*, later Latinized to ‘Luca’ and ‘Lucca’ in modern times, apparently came from a Celtic word for ‘swamp’. By 600 BCE Lucca was part of Etruria, though Ligurians and Etruscans lived in close and sometimes cooperative contact in that region for centuries. By the late third century BCE Lucca, with all of Etruria, had come under Roman domination and in 180 it became a colony. Ninety years later it joined other Italian cities in the Social Wars (91–88), an unsuccessful rebellion against Rome that nevertheless resulted in the recognition of Lucca as a municipality — that is, a free city of Roman citizens. In 56 BCE, the First Triumvirate of Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed there.⁷ When Tolomeo strolled about his city he would have seen several remnants of ancient Rome, as indeed we still can today, including parts of the Roman wall, amphitheatre, theatre, and paved streets. In the Middle Ages, the amphitheatre was used as a marketplace.⁸

The earliest literary reference to Lucca appears in Titus Livius’s history of the Punic Wars, in which we read that after an indecisive battle with Hannibal at Placentia in 217 BCE, ‘Hannibal withdrew into Liguria, and Sempronius to Lucca.’⁹ Throughout the Roman period Lucca was a crossroads in trans-Alpine trade because of the Roman consular roads that passed nearby: the Viae Emilia Scauri, Clodia, and Cassia. Later, during the Middle Ages, Lucca lay on the Via Francigena, the main pilgrimage and trade route from Frankish lands to Rome,

W. Dameron, *Florence and its Church in the Age of Dante* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 2, citing Maria Ginatempo and Lucia Sandri, *L’Italia delle città: Il popolamento urbano tra medioevo e rinascimento (secoli XIII–XVI)* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1990), gives the population as one-third of Florence’s hundred thousand in 1300. Some of the discrepancies can be attributed to whether or not the people living immediately outside the walls were counted. Apparently Lucca included this group as citizens of the city, not of the *contado*, and in any case they were in what we call today the metropolitan area, so it makes sense to include them. See J. C. Russell, *Medieval Cities and their Regions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 42–45, and Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery*, p. 18.

⁷ Raoul Manselli, ‘La repubblica di Lucca’, in *Comuni e signorie nell’Italia nordorientale e centrale: Lazio, Umbria, e Marche, Lucca*, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso (Turin: UTET, 1987), pp. 610–731 (p. 610). Manselli says that 180 is the earliest date at which we can make completely verifiable statements about Luccan history.

⁸ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 212.

⁹ Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, 21.59, The Latin Library, <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/livy/liv.21.shtml#59>> [accessed June 2008]. See Augusto Mancini, *Storia di Lucca* (Lucca: Fazzi, 1999), p. 1.

since the alternate route along the old Roman coastal road, the Via Aurelia, went through swamps, which became breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes. This meant that a steady stream of international pilgrims and later merchants travelled through Lucca, giving it a cosmopolitan character that most cities of the time lacked, especially in the early Middle Ages. In addition to transient pilgrims, Lucca attracted pilgrims from across Europe for its *Volto Santo*, the 'Holy Face', a depiction of the crucified Christ carved from a cedar of Lebanon by Nicodemus, a witness to the Crucifixion, supposedly under divine inspiration, though it is probably of eleventh-century origin. Its fame spread so far as to be the subject of an English royal oath. According to a dubious legend accepted in the Middle Ages, St Peter himself sent St Paulinus of Antioch to bring Christianity to Lucca. Paulinus was appointed as Lucca's first bishop in 67 CE. He died there as a martyr, and eventually became Lucca's patron saint.¹⁰ Siena was the only other major city of Tuscany on the Via Francigena, which dipped down to the Tyrrhenian coast at what became the Luccan port of Luni.

Following the collapse of Roman power in northern Italy, Lucca passed under the dominion of the Goths, then to the Byzantines after Justinian's sixth-century reconquest, then, after around 570 to the Lombards, who made it the capital of the region of Tuscia, but who did not themselves convert to Christianity until the seventh century. After the papacy appealed to the Franks for help against the threatening Lombards, Lucca came under Carolingian rule in the eighth century, and it remained at least nominally subject to the empire for the next few centuries. Charlemagne established the Margravate (Marquisate) of Tuscany with its seat in Lucca and appointed the first Margrave (Marquis) of Tuscany and Count of Lucca, Boniface I. His successor, Boniface II, brought Luni under Luccan dominance in the mid-ninth century to serve as its port, along with Corsica and Sardinia. Around 1000 Lucca imported silkworms and over the next two hundred years became the most important European producer and exporter of silk goods, coming close to holding a monopoly. Silk and wool cloth, with the later addition of banking, served as the basis of Lucca's great economic power in the High Middle Ages. Lucca was precocious in its economic and social development, even for northern Italy. By the eleventh century manorialism was virtually a thing of the past, and until the later eleventh century Lucca was the only important trading city and mint of Tuscany.¹¹ Lucca relied more on imported silk cocoons

¹⁰ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, pp. 12–15.

¹¹ Jones, *Italian City-State*, pp. 101, 108, 192.

and raw silk than on native production and for this needed only a fairly simple putting-out system employing a high percentage of women and *contado* dwellers to produce their fine silk cloth. This process required far fewer urban workers than the wool cloth production in Florence, which is one reason Lucca never grew in population to the same degree.¹²

It was in the eleventh century that Tolomeo began his narration in *Annales*. During the period of the Margravate, Lucca, like most cities of northern Italy, engaged in frequent intrigue and competition for independence, wealth, and power. At different times the empire and papacy exercised more or less influence, and although Tolomeo became a strong supporter of the papacy and Lucca a staunch Guelph city, his city had not always been so loyal to the church. Tolomeo was careful to record the various privileges that both pope and emperor bestowed upon Lucca. The most significant figure of the early period was Countess Matilda of Tuscany (or Canossa) (c.1046–1115), who, with the backing of her confessor, Anselm — the nephew of Pope Alexander II, who became Anselm II, Bishop of Lucca (1073–86) — was a key papal ally in the Investiture Controversy against Emperor Henry IV. It was at her castle of Canossa that Henry humbled himself before Pope Gregory VII in 1077 by standing barefoot in the snow for three days. She fought a protracted war against Henry and his successor, Henry V, in which she variously was ejected from her lands, defeated Henry IV's forces at Canossa in 1091, fought many indecisive battles, married the teenaged Welf V for political reasons, and conspired with Conrad, son of Henry IV, to depose his father.

According to Tolomeo, Alexander II (1061–73) — who as pope retained for a time his office of Bishop of Lucca, which he had held from 1057 as Anselm I — allowed the community to use a lead seal, the same privilege accorded to the Venetian doge, and the canons of the Cathedral Chapter to carry mitres in processions, like the cardinals of the Cathedral Chapters of Ravenna and Compostela.¹³ But after the Pope sent his nephew to Matilda and installed him as his successor in the bishopric, many Luccans felt themselves to be oppressed and wanted to free their city from Matilda. This feeling only intensified with the even more determined reformer Pope Gregory VII and Matilda's increasing power. The episcopal chapter itself, composed of privileged Luccans, opposed Gregory and the non-native Anselm, who, unlike his uncle, was uncompromising in his demands

¹² Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery*, pp. 19–21, citing F. Edler, 'The Silk Trade of Lucca during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930), pp. 58–92.

¹³ *Annales*, 1064, p. 5.

for reform of the chapter.¹⁴ After Gregory excommunicated Henry IV for the second time, in 1080, Lucca deserted Matilda, as did other Tuscan cities, and expelled Anselm.

Matilda remained loyal to the church and willed her lands, including Lucca, to the papacy, although in 1111, a year after she made peace with Henry V, she also promised them to him. After her death in 1115, Henry came to Italy and took possession of these lands, leading to another dispute that lasted for a century. Ultimately, in 1213, Frederick II recognized the papal claim, although this did not stop future imperial assertions of its hegemony there. While Henry was in Italy, he also intervened to end the war between Pisa and Lucca. Tolomeo does not mention this fact, although he records some new privileges Henry granted at the expense of the Pisans: elimination of a tax paid for docking boats and free navigation on the Serchio River and in the sea near Mutrone, privileges that Margrave Carrado of Tuscany confirmed in 1120.¹⁵ Despite this favouritism, the shift in the balance of power led in the following years to Lucca's alliance with the papacy. As early as 1121, at the end of the Investiture Controversy, when Pope Calixtus II granted the *pallium* to the Luccan bishop,¹⁶ we begin again to see frequent papal privileges granted to Lucca, while the temporary truce between pope and emperor made possible by the Concordat of Worms of 1122 established a climate in which Lucca could benefit from the good will of both.

Lucca was known as a leading Guelph city, an impression Tolomeo was at pains to reinforce. His partisanship often obscured the shifting alliances in which Lucca, in pursuing its own interests, would at times favour the pope and at other times the emperor. Although it is far too much of a generalization, as he realized, Augusto Mancini summarizes the situation well: Lucca's background and early history on the surface would suggest an antipapal stance, and in fact it consistently opposed the church's jurisdiction in civil matters. But Lucca could neutralize the church more easily than the empire, which signified feudalism and a hindrance both to the incorporation of the *contado* and economic development.¹⁷

¹⁴ Osheim, *An Italian Lordship*, pp. 16–17.

¹⁵ *Annales*, 1116, p. 37, 1120, p. 40; Micheli, 'Uno storcio', p. 81. The document was edited by Girolamo Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca* (Florence: Vieusseux, 1847; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1975), Documenti, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Annales*, 1121, pp. 40–41. The *pallium* was a vestment normally worn, with papal approval, by archbishops as a sign of their position. It was a special honour for the Bishop of Lucca, who was not an archbishop.

¹⁷ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, pp. 86–87.

In northern Italy in general such territorial and economic motives were always of greater importance than any abstract allegiance to the church or empire. This principle was more true in Lucca than in most other cities, in that the hostility of the parties, which could be vicious elsewhere, was frequently more subdued in Lucca and subordinated to the city's local interests.

For their support, Henry granted Lucca several privileges as a free city in 1081, including the right to keep their walls and his promise not to build fortresses inside the city or within six miles of it. What this last privilege represented was recognition of the incorporation of the suburban *borghi* of the inner *contado*. This process was going on in all the communes, and similar recognitions are found in documents about various other cities, though not usually until the twelfth century.¹⁸ Tolomeo mentions these privileges, but not that Henry also promised that the Luccans would have unhindered use of the Via Francigena between Lucca and Luni, that the Emperor would not appoint foreign judges, and that Luccan merchants would have the rights to free trade in the markets of Borgo San Donino and Coparmuli. But the Emperor had no thought at that time of recognizing formal independence,¹⁹ and, according to Duane Osheim, he was probably merely recognizing formally what Lucca asked and what it had already implemented.²⁰ This may be true about the concessions having to do with political liberties, but Robert Davidsohn offers a different take on those concerning trade. He notes that they were privileges refused to Florence, which badly wanted them, and the consequence was the separation of Lucca and Florence on different sides of the Investiture Controversy and an intensification of their commercial rivalries.²¹

Tolomeo first mentions the imperial commercial privileges in 1105, saying that Henry gave Lucca the right freely to pursue its business interests throughout

¹⁸ Jones, *Italian City-State*, pp. 361–62.

¹⁹ Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Knopf, 1979; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), p. 24. The text of Henry's privileges can be found in Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca*, Documenti, pp. 3–4. Tolomeo, *Annales*, 1081, p. 17, reports that the privilege allowed Lucca to keep its old walls, and mentions the provisions about imperial palaces or castles. See also Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols (Florence, 1965–68), I, 394–95. For more on Matilda and the Investiture Controversy, see H. E. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) and the website devoted to her, <<http://www.libraryautomation.com/valerieeads/matilda.html>> [accessed June 2008].

²⁰ Osheim, *An Italian Lordship*, pp. 16–17, 70–71.

²¹ Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, I, 394–95; Micheli, 'Uno storcio', p. 80.

the empire and promised to restore goods taken from them. This was the chief stimulus for a five-year war with another commercial rival, Pisa, the first of many wars with that city, though Tolomeo mentions only that it was set off by the Luccan seizure of the castle of Ripafratta the year before.²²

Tolomeo shows a great interest in sources pertaining to Lucca's financial affairs. For instance, he frequently refers to privileges given with respect to Luccan money. In 1155, Frederick I Barbarossa confirmed a privilege granted to Lucca in Gothic times of minting coins, which served as the basis of Luccan banking success.²³ Several popes also confirmed this privilege, including Adrian IV in 1158. Adrian, according to Tolomeo, went so far as to compel the cities of Tuscany and the March to use the Luccan currency and threatened them with anathema if they counterfeited it.²⁴ The imperial legates Rainald of Cologne and Herrich of Liège repeated the concession in 1164, and in 1180 the merchants and moneylenders of Bologna swore in a public *parlamento* to use only Luccan money.²⁵ In 1182, the new pope, Lucius III, himself a noble Luccan, promoted Luccan money even more aggressively, and in reporting this Tolomeo took the opportunity to explain the common contemporary currencies and to invent a solidly papalist past for his city:

He conceded to the Luccans the coining of money, and, commanding that city highly to all the cities of Tuscany and March, Campagna, Apulia, and Romagna, he placed Lucca before those cities with respect to its money, with Frederick I at that time emperor and his son Henry reigning. Whence, from that time on, this money was more common in these places. For it was written in the register of that community that Lucius ordered all natives of the these regions and pilgrims to Rome and individual pilgrims of any city or province, to use that money in their commerce, to which the emperor Frederick gave approval. Note that two monies were most current in ancient times in Italy: in Lombardy that of Pavia, which Frederick favoured, and which that city always used, but in the said places, where the church more exercised lordship, Luccan money was more in use, because that city from antiquity was always subject to the Roman Church. Whence the laws [*iura*] make special mention of those two monies, as for example Innocent III, who was twenty years after Lucius, in his decretal *De censibus*.²⁶

²² Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, p. 60; *Annales*, 1104–05, pp. 29–30. G. Benvenuti, *Storia della repubblica di Pisa* (Pisa: Giardini, 1967), p. 69, says that the Luccan desire to end duties for passing through Pisan territory caused the war. See Micheli, 'Uno storcio', p. 81.

²³ *Annales*, 1155, p. 59; the grant is edited by Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca*, Documenti, pp. 6–7.

²⁴ *Annales*, 1158, p. 62.

²⁵ *Annales*, 1164, p. 65; 1180, p. 75.

²⁶ *Annales*, 1181, pp. 76–77: 'Hic concessit Lucanis monetam incudendam; quam civitatem summe commendans omnibus civitatibus Tuscie et Marchie, Companie, Apuliae, et Romagnole,

Although Tolomeo does not mention it, Frederick II also supported Luccan currency and confirmed the minting privilege in the thirteenth century. So rich and prosperous had Lucca become even before its formal independence that the biographer of Bishop Anselm II bemoaned the corruption of both the clergy and people, blaming the luxurious goods flowing into the city, the babble of foreigners, and the burgeoning population which had overturned the established order.²⁷

At the beginning of his portion of *De regimine principum* Tolomeo sets out the things that were necessary for a successful city and ruler. Among these were what he called natural and artificial wealth, that is, natural resources and riches. Later he praises the simple lifestyle, the ‘voluntary poverty’ of virtuous ancient Roman leaders, but he nowhere makes blanket condemnations of wealth and privilege or the cosmopolitan nature and population of Lucca or cities in general. This is not to say that he did not have a certain ambivalence about wealth, even beyond this distinction of personal and civic wealth, and commerce. But his criteria for cities — which include, as well as natural resources, wealth, good government officials, strong fortifications, secure roads, encouragement of trade, the regulation of loans and contracts, standard weights and measures, a commitment to charity, protection of foreigners, and support of religion — mirror the qualities that made Lucca prosper. He calls money ‘the instrument of life’ and writes that ‘the majesty of lords shines forth from coinage, and this is why, for their own glory, cities and towns, rulers and prelates, individually procure their own special coinage from the emperors’.²⁸ Wealth was necessary for the

in moneta preponat, adhuc imperante Frederico primo et regnante Heinrico filio eius. Unde dicta moneta ab illo tempore in predictis partibus magis fuit usualis. Scribitur autem in registro communitatis prefate, quod dictus Lucius mandavit omnibus terrigenis dictatorum regionum et Romipedis ac singulis peregrinis cuiuscumque civitatis vel provincie, quod illa uterentur moneta in ipsorum commerciis, dicto etiam imperatore Frederico in hoc prebente favorem. Ubi attendendum quod duo monete antiquis temporibus magis currellerunt in Italia; quia in Lombardia Papiensis, favente Frederico, quem dicta civitatis semper fuit secuta, sed in predictis partibus, ubi ecclesia magis dominabitur, moneta currebat Lucana, ut ex superius dictis appareat, eo quod dicta civitatis ab antiquo Romane semper fuit subiecta. Unde de istis duabus monetis specialiter iura faciunt mentionem, ut Innocentius III in sua decretali, qui fuit post Lucium ad XX annos, cum de censibus agitur.’ Here he is referring to *Decretales*, IX.3.39.20; Title 39 is *De Censibus*; Chapter 20 is *Olim causam*.

²⁷ *Vita Mathildae*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 12 (Hannover: Hahn, 1856), p. 379, as cited in J. K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy* (New York: St Martin’s, 1973), p. 33.

²⁸ *De regimine principum*, II.7.4, II.7.10: ‘instrumento vitae’; II.13.6: ‘Ex numismate maiestas dominorum reluet, et ideo civitates et castri sive principes sive praelati hoc pro sua gloria singulariter ab imperatoribus impetrant.’

functioning of government, for its territorial expansion, and for provision for the people.²⁹ Regulation was necessary to ensure the common good. Lucca itself had some of the strongest regulation of commerce (discussed below) and resources, including a special tribunal to control all aspects of the distribution, pricing, and quality of food.³⁰

Long before the flurry of economic concessions mentioned above, as early as the 1080s, there was already evidence of the ‘emergence of formal communal activity’ in Lucca, making it one of the first northern Italian communes,³¹ and in a document of 1107 we find the first mention of the *Consoli maggiori*.³² In an early communal document of 1124 concerning the settlement of a dispute between two lords is a statement ‘on civic solidarity and the nature of cities as commonwealths formed to live by law’.³³ In the mid-twelfth century we find the first mentions of *podestà*.

This did not mean that by these dates Lucca had achieved complete independence; until the end of the twelfth century a fierce struggle continued between emperor and commune; in fact, the early mention of the *podestà* appears in an imperial document ordering him to rule in the emperor’s name and according to his policy. In 1160 Lucca paid Frederick I’s uncle, Welf VI, Margrave of Tuscany, the huge sum of one thousand gold soldi for a ninety-year cession of rights over the city,³⁴ and in 1162 the Emperor formally recognized Lucca’s communal privileges, including its hegemony, as in previous privileges, over the *contado* within six miles from the city walls, and its right to appoint its own communal consuls. Through these concessions, Lucca won rather early privileges that Frederick granted to the majority of northern Italian cities only after his devastating defeat at Legnano in 1176, which led to general communal independence by the Peace of Constance in 1183.³⁵ Notwithstanding the treaty, in 1184 Frederick once again seized the Luccan *contado*, and Lucca did not recover it completely until after 1197, even though Henry, Frederick’s son, reissued the six-mile policy in 1186 and

²⁹ *De regimine principum*, II.7.

³⁰ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 489.

³¹ Martines, *Power and Imagination*, p. 18.

³² Edited in Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca*, Documenti, p. 2.

³³ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 374. I quote this because Jones does not cite the actual language of the act, except for ‘ad iure vivendum’, and I have not been able to find it.

³⁴ Manselli, ‘Repubblica di Lucca’, pp. 639, 645.

³⁵ Martines, *Power and Imagination*, p. 26. But Micheli, ‘Uno storcio’, p. 83, says that Luccan hegemony extended only five miles until 1186.

granted ‘many other dignities and privileges’.³⁶ Tolomeo neglects to mention that these favours cost the Luccans a pledge to pay the empire sixty silver marks every year and to accept the Emperor’s judgements when he was in Lucca.³⁷ In 1192, Lucca blatantly ignored an imperial edict that forbade Tuscan communes from absorbing their neighbours when it received the oath of submission of the nobles of Vallechia while Henry was in Italy following his coronation in 1191.³⁸ In its extension of law and government to its *contado* Lucca was far ahead of Florence and most other Tuscan communes. It achieved actual control by the beginning of the thirteenth century, something Florence lacked for nearly another century.³⁹

In Lucca, as in other cities, the early commune was dominated by the old nobility with some admixture of the most powerful business figures. During the twelfth century, as was true throughout Italy, the family disputes solidified that would lead in the next century to the foundation of the Guelph and Ghibelline parties. In particular, this led to the formation of *consorterie*, corporate associations of families for mutual protection and advancement, which built on the pattern already established in the eleventh century for families to cluster on adjacent properties, and which led Lucca to become a ‘forest’ of towers,⁴⁰ some of which survive to this day.

Nevertheless, in the early twelfth century, Lucca and most major northern Italian cities had a fair degree of internal peace, though there were numerous external threats, particularly from other cities, frequently stirred up by conflicts over expansion into intervening areas. Lucca struggled with the Cattani of the Garfagnana, the mountainous region around Lucca centred on the city of Barga.⁴¹ There were a series of wars among Lucca, Pisa, Florence, and Siena. Florence declared war in 1125. The greatest struggle in the twelfth century was with Pisa, with Lucca trying to establish and maintain a permanent port and Pisa contesting Luccan hegemony over the Via Francigena. The great rivals Pisa and Lucca, though merely a dozen miles apart, were separated by rugged mountains, which as Dante mentions, hid the Luccans from the Pisans’ sight. They finally signed a treaty, including a commercial settlement, in 1181 but began fighting again in

³⁶ *Annales*, 1186, p. 82.

³⁷ Antonio Mazzarosa, *Storia di Lucca: Dalle origine fino al MDCCXIV* (Lucca: Giusti, 1833), p. 77; Micheli, ‘Uno storcio’, pp. 83–84.

³⁸ *Annales*, 1192, p. 87; Micheli, ‘Uno storcio’, p. 84.

³⁹ Dameron, *Florence and its Church*, pp. 2, 7, 234.

⁴⁰ Martines, *Power and Imagination*, p. 36.

⁴¹ Martines, *Power and Imagination*, p. 24.

1218. This new war lasted for another forty years, with occasional truces, and determined the political-military affairs of the whole Tuscan-Ligurian region throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It also drove Lucca's alliance with Genoa, Pisa's rival in Mediterranean trade, and Florence, whose expansion in the Arno Valley conflicted with Pisa's similar plans.⁴²

Lucca's early prosperity, as well as the popular desire to stop the thug-like behaviour of the *consortorie*, led to the early emergence of political organization of the business class, the *popolo*. As early as 1069 there is some hint of the division between nobles and *popolo* in Tolomeo's statement that the whole 'military of Lucca, at least the more honourable part', met and accompanied the Pope,⁴³ but only in the late twelfth century did the organized *popolo* become a significant force. Before 1188, the year that Tolomeo first mentions the *podestà*, we hear nothing about factional clashes in *Annales*. In that year, the inhabitants of several neighbourhoods clashed. Tolomeo does not explain the reasons for the fight, but it was so fierce that it took a Florentine intervention to settle.⁴⁴ Sometime in the next decade, *società delle armi*, armed defensive societies of the *popolo*, emerged in Lucca, the first instances of organizations that later became common in northern Italy. This happened either in 1197, the same year that Lucca joined the papal League of San Ginesio against the Emperor, or in 1198.⁴⁵ Their stated objective was not to replace the ruling class, but rather to bring peace and concord to a divided city.⁴⁶

A violent struggle between the old consular nobility and the *popolo* broke out in 1203; according to Tolomeo, the *populus*, or *pedites*, expelled the nobles, or *milites*, though peace was later made and the nobles readmitted.⁴⁷ Priors of the neighbourhood associations, of which there were twelve by 1211, became advisors

⁴² Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, p. 14; see Dante, *Inferno*, 33.30.

⁴³ *Annales*, 1069, p. 8: 'totaque militia dicte civitatis, vel saltem honorabilior'.

⁴⁴ *Annales*, 1188, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁵ Hyde, *Society and Politics*, p. 111. *Annales*, 1198, p. 90, puts it under 1198, although his source, the *Gesta Lucanorum*, lists 1197. A fifteenth-century hand noted in an *Annales* manuscript that the societies were founded by Rodolfus Viviani and Lottus de Chiatri (*Annales*, p. 90). Actually, the organization of 1198, the *società di concordia de'pedoni* was more a precursor of the *società delle armi* of later statutes. See Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, p. 17 n. 24, pp. 18–19.

⁴⁶ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 511.

⁴⁷ *Annales*, 1203, p. 93: 'Eodem anno fuit in civitate Luce discordia inter milites et pedites, [...] populus prevaluit et expulit nobiles [...] exinde facta est concordia inter eos, et sic dicti nobiles redierunt in propria.' See Martines, *Power and Imagination*, p. 41; Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, pp. 16–17.

to the *podestà*. The associations were suppressed by 1217, only to remerge as a part of the government in 1229.⁴⁸ Tolomeo reports another clash in 1257, perhaps from memory, though he admits that others place it in 1258. His account gives a fairly clear analysis of the class basis of the incident and the tensions that existed in Lucca between the poor and the rich, whether noble or *popolani*, showing how the rich *popolani* and nobles were often allied to prevent the expansion of participation to the lower guilds (though Tolomeo himself never made a direct connection between class conflict and the form of government in Lucca):

In the same year, there was a battle in Lucca between on the one side the poor [*macrum*] and the lower-born [*tenuem*] *popolo* living among those who were nobles, and on the other side well-off [*grasso*] people, who immediately were joined by the greater and they themselves sometimes were greater ones. They struggled long, but at last after great injury they returned to concord.⁴⁹

In the 1230s or 1240s, Lucca may have been one of the first cities to establish a government controlled by the *popolo*, as opposed to one in which the *popolo* merely had some part.⁵⁰ It certainly was in charge by 1250, but the earliest constitution of the *popolo* that survives, at that only in a fragment, comes from 1261, shortly after the clashes of the late 1250s and in the wake of the Luccan and Florentine defeat the previous year at Montaperti. This document, but not Tolomeo, mentions such officials as the *anziani* and captain of the *popolo* and some of their duties, but the detailed descriptions of the election and powers of the various officials and councils is now missing.⁵¹

Despite the centrality of trade and manufacturing to Lucca, governments of the *popolo* there, and in some other Tuscan towns like Pisa, were never based on the guilds, as they were in Florence, but rather on neighbourhoods (as we saw above), companies, or societies of the *popolo*.⁵² Yet the merchants obtained great powers separate from the governmental institutions. For example, the Merchants' Tribunal dominated all economic decisions, and by its command it could even imprison, torture, and condemn to death, while the guilds also exercised con-

⁴⁸ Martines, *Power and Imagination*, pp. 47–48.

⁴⁹ *Annales*, 1257, p. 139: ‘Eodem anno fuit prelum Luce inter populum macrum et tenuem viventem inter illos, qui erant nobiles, et populum grassum, qui immediate coniungebantur maioribus et ipsi aliquando de maioribus erant. Isti autem diu ad invicem certantes tandem sine magna lesione ad concordiam redeunt.’

⁵⁰ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 503.

⁵¹ Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca*, Documenti, pp. 15–16; *Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by David Abulafia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 55.

⁵² Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 506.

siderable independent power and were also represented in one of the major councils of the government. According to Philip Jones, this resulted in a divided sovereignty and ‘the state became a species of condominium between commune and capitalist corporation’.⁵³

The different development of Florence and Lucca in part stemmed from the fact that the struggles between the magnates and *popolo* began earlier in Lucca and this resulted in the institutionalizing and persistence of a popular government more similar to that of Florence of the *primo popolo* than to the more guild-based government of the *secondo popolo*. Though many of the provisions of the Luccan government before the Statute of 1308 are lost, the general outline of it involves a division of power between two bodies (except for occasional and extraordinary *parlamenti* of the citizens). The Council of the Commune, which elected the *podestà* and *anziani*, was indirectly elected and based on the five wards. The council of the *popolo*, which chose the *gonfaloniere di giustizia*, comprised the priors of the *società delle armi* and the captains of the guilds. While the Florentine priors were expected to defend the popular interests because they represented the guilds, the Luccan priors raised the same hopes through their origin in the military societies.⁵⁴ Another difference is that the proscription of specific magnates, called *potenti* or *casastici* in Lucca, which in 1308 included far more names than in Florence at any time, was more limited in its impact, since it did not bar magnates from all government office but only from the *società delle armi* and the council of the *popolo*. But unlike Florence, Lucca eventually proscribed ‘the great majority of the rich merchants, some of the middling ones, and all the big, powerful *consorterie* [...] together, of course, with the descendants of the old feudal nobility’.⁵⁵

It may seem that by providing for a wide-based participation in the various councils and by legislating only relatively mild restrictions Lucca attempted, despite frequent class conflicts, to maintain a certain harmony among the classes and to moderate the influence of business, neighbourhoods, and the armed *popolo*. But it is also true that from 1261 through a few years after 1310, which corresponds almost exactly with Tolomeo’s active life, the trend is toward increasingly popular government and greater restriction on the upper classes, which were also put more and more at legal disadvantage. At each stage it seems that in the wake of increased mobilization the armed *popolo* achieved ever more power, often by

⁵³ Jones, *Italian City-State*, pp. 517–18.

⁵⁴ Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁵ Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, pp. 19, 21.

allying itself with one side of a feud between powerful families, until in the end it was able to dispense with all the powerful factions. Tolomeo hints at the most significant of the feuds, apparently lasting from at least 1279 to 1301, between the Obizi/Bernarducci, leaders of the Black Guelphs, and the Mordecastelli/Ciapparoni/Interminelli, leaders of the White Guelphs, although their feud preceded the emergence of the Blacks and Whites in 1286. The Whites were exiled in 1301, and by 1310 the *popolo* was able to end the power of the Obizi/Bernarducci.⁵⁶

Much more significant to Lucca than class conflict was its insecure geographical location, threatened by Pisan ambitions to the south and west, Florentine ambitions to the east, and rebellion in the frequently contested region of the Garfagnana in the north. As Duane Osheim comments, ‘All Lucchese seem to have been aware of the precariousness of the commune’s position [...]. It is an awareness of this tenuous position between the Arno and the Serchio Rivers rather than an awareness of social factions that emerges from a close reading of Lucchese history.’⁵⁷ Many of the city’s constant preoccupations stemmed from this: contesting the Serchio with Pisa, the Hospice of Altopascio with Pistoia, and always Versilia and the Garfagnana with various enemies.⁵⁸

In addition, throughout the first half of the thirteenth century and beyond there continued to be occasional interference by the empire. For example, in 1209 Emperor Otto IV attempted to revitalize imperial hegemony in northern Italy. He too reissued the communal privileges granted to Lucca by his predecessors, perhaps in an attempt to resist the more radical changes that had already occurred. Throughout the first three decades of the thirteenth century, imperial efforts to maintain imperial bishoprics and fiefs, in Lucca and other parts of northern Italy, generally failed and communal forces seized some of their lands. Osheim doubts the extent of these seizures and argues that the Luccan bishopric maintained much of its jurisdiction over rural communes in the course of the thirteenth century, while exercising it in some places jointly with the commune.⁵⁹ Contrary to the earlier belief of Davidsohn and Burckhardt, George Dameron argues in the case of Florence — and the same applies to Lucca, with its even greater social

⁵⁶ *Annales*, 1279, 1280, 1286, 1294, 1300; Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, pp. 23–29.

⁵⁷ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 23.

⁵⁸ Manselli, ‘Repubblica di Lucca’, p. 644.

⁵⁹ Osheim, *Italian Lordship*, pp. 73–78, citing Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, II, 20–21 and Gioacchino Volpe, *Toscana medievale* (Florence: Sansoni, 1964), p. 426. Osheim also doubts that the statutes of Otto IV were as reactionary as Davidsohn thought.

mobility within the ecclesiastical hierarchy — that the church and government worked together in the rise of communal government and power.⁶⁰

The conflicts with Pisa and the Garfagnana dominated Luccan affairs in the years before Tolomeo's birth and during his early childhood. The latter often put the city at odds with the Pope, who was always anxious to assert his claim to hegemony in Tuscany by Matilda's will. Tolomeo does not make this clear. In 1231, according to him, the Luccans 'devastated' the region around Barga in the Garfagnana.⁶¹ The next year, Florence and Lucca suffered a major defeat near Barga at the hands of the natives and Pisa, who, Tolomeo says, had originally incited the Garfagnana to assert its independence, although the attackers brought powerful siege machines, which Tolomeo describes in detail.⁶² What he does not mention is that Lucca was then under an interdict imposed by Gregory IX for not relinquishing its claim to the region even after the Pope had put it under his protection and installed a puppet ruler. Lucca eventually gave in to the Pope, and the interdict was lifted in 1234. Again Tolomeo does not mention the settlement. Part of the humiliating terms must have included providing military support for the Pope's attack against Frederick II at Viterbo, since Tolomeo reports that the head of the Luccan military was killed there in battle in 1234 while helping the Pope.⁶³ In December 1236, the Pope restored the bishopric, which during the interdict he had divided among Lucca's enemies, and brought in the Sienese Guercio Tebalducci as bishop, a position he would hold until his death in 1256.⁶⁴ One would think that Tolomeo must have known the details of this clash with the church but chose to record only the Luccan military's support of the Pope in order to establish a more consistent Guelph image for his city. However, the *Gesta Lucanorum* does not mention the conflict with the Pope either.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Dameron, *Florence and its Church*, pp. 4–5, 105.

⁶¹ *Annales*, 1231, p. 118.

⁶² *Annales*, 1232, p. 119. See also Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca*, p. 73; Mazzarosa, *Storia di Lucca*, pp. 90–91; Micheli, 'Uno storcio', p. 85.

⁶³ *Annales*, 1234, p. 120. Micheli, 'Uno storcio', p. 86, says that the interdict did not end until 1236 and that this incident demonstrated the efforts of Lucca to get in the good graces of the Pope. But Tommasi (*Sommario della storia di Lucca*, p. 74) and Mancini (*Storia di Lucca*, p. 92) explain that the end of the interdict on 26 July 1234 did not immediately result in the restoration of the bishopric. Mancini suggests that the Pope demanded troops as part of the settlement, though there is no documentary evidence of this.

⁶⁴ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, pp. 91–92.

⁶⁵ *Gesta Lucanorum*, in *Annales*, 1234–36, pp. 306–07.

In that same year of 1236, although surprisingly Tolomeo does not mention it either, his own Dominican house was officially founded in Lucca two years after the death of St Dominic,⁶⁶ part of the explosion of the order that would see the sixteen original members sent out by St Dominic in 1217 succeeded by ten thousand or more by the end of the century.⁶⁷ The established religious institutions in cities like Florence and Pisa saw the arrival of mendicants as a threat to their authority and rights, and they often clashed with them and relegated them to the suburbs. This did not happen in Lucca, in Osheim's opinion, because of the greater stability and vitality of the institutions there. Nevertheless, like other mendicant houses, but unlike the various monastic orders, San Romano had a cosmopolitan atmosphere resulting from a continual flow of brothers in and out of San Romano from and to other cities.⁶⁸ In any case, in 1236 the Cistercian monastery of San Pantaleone gave the Dominicans of Lucca — who must have come to the city a few years earlier but as yet had no permanent residence — two small churches, San Bartolomeo and San Giuliano, which were within the city walls but in an undeveloped part of the city.⁶⁹ A year later the Benedictines of San Ponziano gave them another small church (actually an old and new church at the same location), San Romano, just within the walls, which thereafter became the name of their convent. Shortly afterward the brothers bought several adjacent properties and agreed to build a new convent there.⁷⁰ They embarked on an ambitious building programme around 1240, and the new church of San Romano was consecrated in 1281, although the apse and crossing were not finished until the end of the century, and the bell tower not until the second decade of the fourteenth century, after Tolomeo had moved to Avignon.⁷¹ When Tolomeo entered the Dominican order, the construction was well under way and remained active throughout his entire life in Lucca. The Dominicans kept the name of

⁶⁶ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 2; Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 206.

⁶⁷ Daniel Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. 64.

⁶⁸ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, pp. 36–38.

⁶⁹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 20.7.1236, ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 219–21.

⁷⁰ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 23.5.1237, ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 221–23; see also pp. 2–3, and Francesco Baroni, *Chiese di Lucca, San Romano*, Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, MS 896.

⁷¹ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 3–4.

San Romano for their new church, but it may actually have been dedicated to Mary, since Pope Nicholas IV wrote in 1289 that ‘it is said to be constructed’ in her honour.⁷²

In the same year of 1236 there was a violent earthquake in Burgundy. Although Tolomeo could not have witnessed this event, he must have heard of it from witnesses and been impressed by its dramatic nature, since he relates in unusual detail how a mountain separated itself from its chain and came together with another mountain across the valley, crushing all five thousand people in between.⁷³

This same year is the date traditionally given for Tolomeo’s birth, but with very little authority. Most modern scholars cite only Ludovico Muratori, who, in the introduction to his 1727 edition of Tolomeo’s *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, says that he saw this date in ‘a manuscript’.⁷⁴ Muratori does not identify his source, but it is possible he saw the date in the writings of the late sixteenth-century historian Niccolò Penitesi.⁷⁵ While both were far removed from their subject, the nineteenth-century compiler of Tolomeo’s *Annales*, Carlo Minutoli, believed that Penitesi should be given some credence as a careful and generally accurate historian whose family had long been involved in preserving the history of Lucca. Among these ancestors was the chronicler Gherardo, a near-contemporary of Tolomeo, to whose work, now lost, Minutoli believes Penitesi may have had access.⁷⁶ Tolomeo’s unusually vivid description of an eclipse in 1239 could possibly be an early memory.⁷⁷

Other than this, we have only two references, in Tolomeo’s own writings, to suggest his age. The first is in his account of Thomas Aquinas in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*: ‘I found him to be one of the best men I ever knew, and I often heard

⁷² Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 246–47.

⁷³ *Annales*, 1302, pp. 238–39; 1226, p. 114.

⁷⁴ Muratori, preface to *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, col. 743: ‘Ptolomaeus vero, ut in manuscripto habebetur, natus dicitur Anno 1236.’

⁷⁵ Niccolò Penitesi (or Pinitesi), *Memorie intorno alle famiglie lucchesi*, Biblioteca Pubblica di Lucca, Libro Segnato P., MS 853: ‘Di questa casa [Fiadoni] fu il 1236 Bartolommeo Fiadoni, che si fece frate e fu Vescovo di Torcello, e sotto abbreviato nome si chiamò Tolomeo da Lucca che scrisse le chronice’; cited in Carlo Minutoli’s introduction to Tolomeo Fiadoni (*Ptolemaeus Lucensis*), *Annales*, in *Documenti di storia italiana*, VI: *Cronache dei secoli XIII e XIV*, ed. by Carlo Minutoli, R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie della Toscana, 1 (Florence: Cellini, 1876), pp. 5–34 (p. 8).

⁷⁶ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 8.

⁷⁷ *Annales*, 1239, pp. 122–23.

his confession, and I lived with him for a long time in friendly service, and I was his student [*auditor*]'.⁷⁸ A man canonically had to be thirty to become a priest, but as Tolomeo himself points out, in his time 'by new right' twenty-five was tolerated.⁷⁹ The Dominican Roman Provincial Chapter of 1264 in Viterbo, under whose authority both Tolomeo and Thomas served, decreed that no one under twenty-five should be ordained and no new priest should hear confessions for at least three years.⁸⁰ Assuming that they held to this, since Thomas set off without Tolomeo on his final trip early in 1274, Tolomeo must have been born by 1245 at the latest.

The second reference also comes *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, in one of several personal comments, this time in reference to the Guelph and Ghibelline struggle in Lombardy at the time of Manfred:

But although those two tyrants inflicted many burdens on the church party for some time, they ultimately failed, since one perished with a bad death, namely Ezelinus, and his whole family was rooted out; the other [Pelavisinus] was reduced to nothing by the Cremonans, Piacenzans, and Parmans. And thus the party of the church prevailed in Lombardy. It is not necessary to bring in authorities here, since we saw this, and heard it, and our hands held it. But in the year of the Lord 1256 [...].⁸¹

Tolomeo inserted these comments after a discussion of events in 1255, and he continued immediately with the events of 1256, but the victory of the Guelph party did not come in either of those years (in his *Annales* he includes similar comments, without the personal aside, under 1257).⁸² Ezzelino da Romano (1194–1259)

⁷⁸ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.8, col. 1169: 'quemque ego probavi inter homines, quos umquam novi, qui suam saepe confessionem audivi, et cum ipso multo tempore conversatus sum familiari ministerio, ac ipsius auditor fui.'

⁷⁹ *De operibus sex dierum*, II.7, p. 144. Tolomeo points out that both Aristotle and Augustine said that thirty is the perfect age, but cites the *Decretales*, I.6.7, for the contemporary permissibility of the ordination of a priest, though not a bishop, at twenty-five.

⁸⁰ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae (1243–1344)*, ed. by Thomas Kaepeli and Antonio Dondaine, *Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica*, 20 (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 1941), Viterbo, 1264, pp. 29–30. It did give priors the right to dispense from this in case of necessity.

⁸¹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.15, col. 1149: 'Sed quamvis in aliquo tempore iste duo tyranni multa gravamina intulerint parti ecclesiae; ultimo tamen defecerunt, quia unus mala morte interiit, videlicet Ezelinus, toto genere suo extirpato; alias autem per Cremonenses, Placentinos, Parmenses ad nihilum est redactus. Et sic pars ecclesiae praevaluit in Lombardia. Hic non opportet auctoritates introducere, quia hoc videmus, et audivimus, et manus nostrae contractaverunt. Anno autem domini 1256 [...].'

⁸² *Annales*, 1257, p. 139.

was defeated in 1259 after attempting to conquer Milan, and he died in prison shortly afterward. Uberto Pelavicino (1197–1269) remained powerful for several years after Ezzelino's death. These events, and much of the party factionalism and inter-city wars of northern Italy, were in part reflections of the life and death struggle of the papacy in the mid-thirteenth century against the Hohenstaufen that must have dominated Tolomeo's early years. Both of these men originally served as surrogates for Frederick II, who somewhat misguidedly tried to rule northern Italy through the remnants of the imperial nobility instead of trying to engage the dominant classes of the cities. This policy failed for many reasons, not the least of which was that the nobles were deeply divided among themselves and incited party clashes. Frederick enlisted another noble, Azzo d'Este, who broke with his imperial patron and established a long-lasting despotism for himself and his family in Ferrara. Fear of the empire's ambitions remained strong in Tuscany until the collapse of the Hohenstaufen with the coming of Charles of Anjou in 1266, and since nobles were never much dependent upon the emperor, despotism remained a constant threat even when the empire no longer was.⁸³

What did Tolomeo imply by asserting that he was a witness to these events? That he followed the whole struggle, or only the demise of the two tyrants? How old would he have had to be to consider himself a trustworthy witness? In his coverage of 1253 and 1254 he includes the phrase 'as the histories relate' two times (though only for regnal years); for the years before that he cites historians more frequently, though it is only for 1249 and earlier that he does so for events in northern Italy. It would not do to make too much of Tolomeo's inconsistent citing of his sources, but it does seem that he was using his own memories and resources for the 1250s, and particularly for the mid- to late 1250s. If so, we come to the conclusion that he could not have been born after 1240, and most likely somewhat before if he was a teenager in the 1250s. Twelve or thirteen seems to me to be a reasonable age for an intelligent person to be aware of the crucial political events of his region, though Karl Krüger suggests seventeen.⁸⁴ Supporting this conclusion is Bernhard Schmeidler's impression, in his introduction to his edition of the *Annales*, that Tolomeo demonstrated individual knowledge in his entries after 1261, and to some degree after 1254.⁸⁵ In any case, Tolomeo's comments make the usually cited date of 1236 reasonable, and it may well have derived from an accurate tradition.

⁸³ Hyde, *Society and Politics*, pp. 122–23.

⁸⁴ Krüger, *Des Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, p. 10.

⁸⁵ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. viii.

Many documents refer to Tolomeo by some version of ‘Tolomeus Fiadonis’, leading almost all scholars to include him as one of the Fiadoni family of Lucca. While coming to the same conclusion, Emilio Panella disputes the usual argument, since, he argues, ‘Fiadonis’ was not necessity a surname, but meant simply ‘son of Fiadoni’, which he believed to be Tolomeo’s father’s name. For him the proof of family identity came in one contemporary document alone in which we find the appellation ‘Tolomeo de Fiadonis de Luca’, a formulation that could be used only for someone of the Fiadoni family.⁸⁶ Although it is not a contemporary source, the sixteenth-century *Chronicle of the Convent of San Romano of Lucca*, compiled at San Romano and drawing on its records, uses a similar formulation: *Ptolomaeus de Fiadonibus*.⁸⁷

Panella interprets all the other occurrences of ‘Fiadonis’ in the documents, whether they refer to Tolomeo or to one of his relatives, such as ‘Homodeus quondam Rainonis Fiadonis’ as references not to the family but to the presumed Fiadoni, who was never named in his own right. However, another document, which can no longer be found but which was read by Carlo Minutoli in the nineteenth century, refers to Homodeo as ‘quondam Rainonis Iacobi Fiadonis’.⁸⁸ Unless these are two different Homodei, which seems unlikely, it is impossible to reconcile the variations under Panella’s assumption. This Iacobo is known in two other sources, which Panella does not cite, both referring to ‘Iacopini quondam Iacobo Fiadonis’.⁸⁹ This would push the putative Fiadoni back still one more generation, but it seems to me a stronger argument is that the use of ‘Fiadonis’ not for the person named but for his father or even grandfather indicates that by this time (and the earliest reference is to 1238, around the time of Tolomeo’s birth) the name had become a family name.

⁸⁶ Emilio Panella, ‘Tholomaeus de Fiadonis Lucanus’, in *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Kaepeli and Panella, IV, 318–25 (p. 318); Emilio Panella ‘Priori di Santa Maria Novella di Firenze, 1221–1325’, *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., 17 (1986), 253–84 (p. 266 n. 28). Panella cites the document as Archivio Arcivescovile di Lucca, pergamen. *0, n° 94, 29.6.1289, but the librarians could not find such a document when I was there. Panella is, however, an extremely precise and reliable scholar whose word on this is to be trusted, especially since the document has so much significance for him. It is also recorded by Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 66 n. 2.

⁸⁷ ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, pp. 7, 11.

⁸⁸ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 6, citing Archivio pubblico de’contratti di Lucca, ser Iacopo Cassiani, notary, 14.6.1271, which I could not locate.

⁸⁹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Campagna della Croce, 8.3.1238; Diplomatico, Archivio di Stato, 25.3.1259.

There no doubt was a Fiadoni at one time, whose name developed into a surname, as in the normal process in medieval Italy. By every indication this had already happened by the time of Tolomeo's birth. Another document that Panella does not cite, of the early fourteenth century, refers simply to 'Homodeus Fiadonis', who by Panella's theory must be a third Homodeus.⁹⁰ Further, it was not common to indicate the father in contemporary references to medieval Italian clergy, whereas a family name could sometimes appear. To me, all these arguments are fairly convincing; if I were to reject them, I would be reluctant to make any conclusion about Tolomeo's family on the basis of one document's inclusion of the word *de*, since it would be easy for a single notary to get something like this wrong.

Not much is known about Tolomeo's family beyond the information conveyed in a number of legal documents involving wills and land sales. The Fiadoni were likely a merchant family, which is supported by a document that mentions both that Homodeo Fiadoni had a ship loaded with merchandise and served, by the appointment of Pope Boniface VIII, as one of the arbitrators in the failure of the Riccardi bank of Lucca in 1301.⁹¹ Two eighteenth-century writers, Francesco Baroni and Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, asserted that the Fiadoni were noble and held important offices in the Luccan government, and Baroni even reproduced a coat of arms ascribed to it.⁹² Minutoli also reproduced this coat of arms, which was 'taken from the collection of arms of the families of Lucca in the State Archives', although I was not able to find it.⁹³ However, no member of his family is ever referred to as 'dominus' or 'domina' in the existing documents, even when others in the same document are so characterized. So I doubt that it was noble. Innocenzo Taurisano came to this conclusion as well, suggesting that the error resulted from the conflation of Tolomeo's relative Raynonis and Raniera, the father of Countess Capoana, with whom Tolomeo had a long association (see below).⁹⁴ The international activities and papal appointment of Homodeo makes it most likely, though far from certain, that Tolomeo's family was of the upper

⁹⁰ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Nicolao, 9.12.1318.

⁹¹ Innocenzo Taurisano, *Discepoli e biografi di S. Tommaso: Note storico-critiche* (Rome: Manuzio, 1924), p. 50, citing Minieri-Riccio, *Brevi notizie intorno all'archivio angiono* (Naples: Archivio di stato, 1862), fol. 178.

⁹² Baroni, *Fiadoni*, fol. 109; Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, *Notizie della libreria de' padri domenicani di S. Romano di Lucca* (Lucca: Benedini, 1792), p. 24.

⁹³ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 5.

⁹⁴ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 59 n. 3.

layer of the *popolo*, the *popolo grasso*. Minutoli's assertion that the brothers Homodeo and Iacobo Fiadoni were priors of the *società delle armi* at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century would be plausible under this assumption, but he cites no source, and I have not found one.⁹⁵ Today Fiadoni is a surname almost unknown in Italy. There are no Fiadoni in Lucca, and the very few that I have been able to locate live in Pescara, a coastal commune in Abruzzo, far from Lucca. Interestingly, *fiadoni* are Abruzzan pastry wrappers used to enclose fillings and eaten either for the pasta or desert course.

My reconstruction of Tolomeo's family differs in several significant respects from that of Panella, whose genealogy was based on the existence of a Fiadoni, father to both Tolomeo and Raynonis (or Rainonis) Fiadonis. Discounting this assumption, let us see what evidence we have. The earliest family member I can find is the 'Iacobo Fiadonis' mentioned above as the late father of Iacopini.⁹⁶ That he was dead in 1238 perhaps does not preclude his being the father of Tolomeo, but it is not likely, since he may have been dead for a long time at this point, and since he already had a grown son, Iacopini. Moreover, we never find Iacopini mentioned in the same document with Tolomeo, but we do find Tolomeo frequently mentioned with 'Homodeus (or Omodeus, or Amadeus), son of the late Raynonis (Rayno) Fiadonis': Tolomeo sometimes witnessed Homodeo's land transactions or sale of rights in a will (all involving Countess Capoana, a resident at San Romano),⁹⁷ and Homodeo once witnessed a transaction Tolomeo undertook as executor of Capoana's will.⁹⁸ By the earliest mention of Homodeo, in 1298, his father, Rayno, was already dead, and Rayno is not mentioned anywhere else. The most likely assumption is that Tolomeo and Homodeo were brothers and both sons of Rayno, though it is possible that Tolomeo was the son of a family member not mentioned in the documents.

Minutoli identifies another son of Rayno, Puccio or Iacobo, although I have not been able to find the document of 1296 that mentions him,⁹⁹ nor the one of 1333 mentioning his daughter Ghisliucchia, the wife of Coluccio, son of the

⁹⁵ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, pp. 6–7.

⁹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Campagna della Croce, 8.3.1238; Diplomatico, Archivio di Stato, 25.3.1259.

⁹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 24.6.1298, 3.9.1298, Notarile (in the Santa Anna annex), 19.11.1299.

⁹⁸ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 3.1.1310.

⁹⁹ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 6, citing Archivio Pubblico de'Contratti di Lucca, ser Bartolomeo di Gherardino Tacchi, notary, 15.9.1296.

late Bartolommeo Buoncristiani.¹⁰⁰ This husband's name is interesting, since it coincides with that of one of those excommunicated with Tolomeo in 1321: 'Pucanellus, Collutius, and Landutius, familiars and nephews of the said Bishop of Torcello'.¹⁰¹ Pucanello is a likely name for a son of Puccio, and another nephew in Torcello, Homodutio,¹⁰² might well be a son of Homodeo. Though this cannot be conclusive, it gives further support to the idea that Tolomeo was the son of Rayno, and brother of Puccio (Iacobo) and Homodeo, and that it was Puccio's and Coluccio's sons (or Coluccio himself) that Tolomeo had with him late in life in Torcello.

The only other relatives that appear in the documents are Homodeo's wife and daughter. Two documents refer to donna Nuccia or Galiana, daughter of Bartolomeo Furnidani. In the first, she is listed as wife of Homodeo and in the second as his widow.¹⁰³ This enables us to place Homodeo's death between 23 December 1314 and 9 December 1318. Their daughter, Tholomea, became the abbess of a monastery in the suburbs of Lucca, San Cassiano, as reported in a document of 1340.¹⁰⁴

The family seems to have lived in the area named Puteo Tereldo in the thirteenth century, probably in the quarter of Porta di San Donato. A document of 1271 places his presumed brother Homodeo's house there,¹⁰⁵ although in 1200 the elder Iacopo Fiadoni lived far to the north in the quarter of the Porta di San Frediano.¹⁰⁶ A modern historical plaque affixed to the exterior of San Romano

¹⁰⁰ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 7, citing Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Spedale, bk II, reg. 17, ser Bartolomeo di Giovanni Lunardi, notary, 11.3.1333.

¹⁰¹ Excommunication decree against Fiadoni, 2.8.1321, ed. in Flaminio Corner (also known as Flaminius Cornelius, Cornelio, or Cornario), *Ecclesiae Torcellanae antiquis monumentis nunc etiam primum editis illustratae*, 3 vols (Venice: Pasquali, 1749), i, 80–83 (p. 83).

¹⁰² Manuscript of the Chancery of Treviso, 13.3.1327, ed. in Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, i, 84–85.

¹⁰³ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Nicolao, 23.12.1314; 9.12.1318. The 1314 document uses two forms of her husband's name: Homodeus and Omodeus.

¹⁰⁴ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Opera di Santa Croce, lib. G reg. 9 c. 170t, as reported in Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 7: 'Tholomaea filia quondam Amadei Fiadonis abatissa monasterii San Caxiani ad vicum'. I could not find this document.

¹⁰⁵ Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 6, citing Archivio Pubblico de'Contratti di Lucca, ser Iacopo Cassiani, notary, 14.6.1271: 'Homodeus de Puteo Tereldo, quondam Rainonis Iacobi Fiadonis'. I could not find this document.

¹⁰⁶ Giuseppe Matraia, *Lucca nel milleduecento memoria*, with a new intro. by Isa Belli Barsali (Lucca: Guidotti, 1843; repr. Lucca: Fazzi, 1983), p. 59.

in 1925 asserts: ‘Tolomeo Fiadoni [was] born in Lucca in the houses of Pozzotorelli.’¹⁰⁷ Pozzotorelli is the modern name for Puteo Tereldo, both perhaps a corruption of the Latin word *puteus* plus the name of a person, signifying the presence there of a swamp, or more likely a well. Until 1727, in fact, there was a well in Corte Pozzotorelli near the church of San Alessandro Maggiore a short distance east of Via Pozzotorelli.¹⁰⁸ Today the Via de Pozzotorelli has become the Via Vittorio Veneto, which in the Middle Ages formed the boundary between the quarters of the Porta San Donato to the west and San Pietro to the east. None of the buildings on this street today are medieval, but it is located a very short walk from San Romano, between the churches of San Michele and San Romano.

There is still some doubt about Tolomeo’s given name. ‘Bartolomeo’ is a common Italian name, and it is easy to suppose, as many do, that ‘Tolomeo’ was an abbreviation of it. This is supported by the sixteenth-century Penitesi, who comments in an account of the Fiadoni family: ‘to this house in 1236 was born Bartolomeo Fiadoni, who became a friar and was Bishop of Torcello, and under the abbreviated name of Tolomeo da Lucca wrote the *Annales*.¹⁰⁹ The same assumption is found in the eighteenth-century *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*,¹¹⁰ and, in fact, the Library of Congress today insists on listing him as ‘Bartholomew’. Panella also is convinced that Bartholomeo was his correct name, which became a nickname by apheresis (truncation), but he provides no justification for his opinion.

¹⁰⁷ The complete inscription reads (in square Roman capitals): ‘Tolomeo Fiadoni. Nato in Lucca nella case di Pozzotorelli nella prima metà del Ducento. Morto novantenne nel 1327. Ebbe della famiglia popolana che gli dette i natali. Prospera e stimata nella mercatura. La vita instancabilmente operosa degli uomini della sua terra. La feconde attività molteplice della religione che giovane lo accolse e lo insignì dei maggiori offici. Il prestigio della doctrina e del magistero. Degno della famigliarità e della confidenza di Tommaso d’Aquino da accoglierne confratello i segreti dell’anima penitente e continuare discepolo l’opera del Reggimento dei Principi. Meritamente celebrato scrittore di *Theologia di Politica di Storia*. Per copia di dottrina a nessuno dell’età sua secondo. Per ampiezza e diligenza di storiche ricerche restauratore e innovatore. Il Comune di Lucca al più antico narratore delle gesta cittadine l’anno 1925 Q.M.P.A. Mancini.’

¹⁰⁸ See <<http://www.luccavirtuale.it/walk/corte/Pozzotorelli-21/f-001.htm>> [accessed June 2008]. Luccavirtuale is a good way to acquaint oneself with Lucca, since it allows one virtually to walk around the city in any direction one wants and provides an intelligent commentary on what one sees.

¹⁰⁹ Penitesi, *Memorie intorno alle famiglie lucchesi*; see Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 8, from which I took this quotation.

¹¹⁰ *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Quétif and Echard, pp. 541–44.

Yet, with one exception, there are no contemporary documents using this form; rather, we find variously 'Tolomeus', 'Tholomeus', 'Thollomeus', 'Ptolomeus', and 'Ptholomeus'. A number of documents have both 'Tholomeus' and 'Tolomeus', and one has both 'Ptolomeus' and 'Ptholomeus'. The great majority have 'Tolomeus', or 'Tholomeus'. One of the documents is unique in that it likely contains an autograph inscription on the verso by Tolomeo himself, which begins: 'Frater Tolomeus prior predicatorum'.¹¹¹

The sole exception is found in a Florentine legal document of 14 August 1301 preserved at Santa Maria Novella, where Tolomeo was then prior. The document was witnessed by, among others, 'Brother Bartolomeus of Lucca of the order of Friars Preachers and now prior of the chapter and convent of friars of Florence'.¹¹² Tolomeo was not from Florence and had only moved there to become prior a short time before. Nor was he a principal of the document, but only a witness. There seems to be no reason to regard this as other than a misunderstanding of an unusual name by a notary who did not know him, or perhaps even more likely, as often happens today, the attempt by a reporter to generate the proper name from something regarded incorrectly as a nickname. This seems much more likely than that he would choose this one time to use his full name, when on every other occasion that we know of he did not.

It seems most likely to me that he was named 'Tolomeo' and that the other forms are various classicized versions that were then sometimes re-Italianized. Although this is not a common Italian name of the period it seems to be one used in Tolomeo's family at least — for example, there is a mention, as we saw, of Tolomeo's niece Tholomea, the daughter of Amadeo. There are also quite a few documents in the Luccan archives of the period involving people not of the Fiadoni family but named Tolomeo or Tolomea, or their variants.

As little as we know about Tolomeo's family and birth, still less is known about his early life. We know nothing about his early education or when he entered the Dominican order, although he must have done this at San Romano in Lucca. Becoming a Dominican was probably not random. As Daniel Lesnick has demonstrated for Florence, the Dominican order from its early days was closely

¹¹¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 22.9.1288^v. The document itself is a papal bull that Tolomeo was forwarding. That this is likely an autograph was first stated explicitly by Panella, though di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 239, calls attention to the inscription.

¹¹² Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Santa Maria Novella, 11.8.1301: 'frater Bartolomeus de Luca ordinis fratrum predicatorum necnon prior capituli et conventus fratrum predicatorum de Florentia'. The document is filed under 11 August, when the first part, which is about the same matter but does not involve Tolomeo, was sworn.

associated with the merchant elites of the cities, for whom it provided an ideology of ‘assertive individualism’, as well as a methodology for economic and political control.¹¹³ Although Dominican membership was far from uniform, it seems to have been greatly skewed toward the *popolo grasso*.

Aside from his self-citation as a witness to the Guelph-Ghibelline struggles of the 1250s mentioned above, the first definite mention of him is from 1272. However, we do know quite a bit about the kind of education Tolomeo would have received in San Romano and the life he would have lived there, thanks in large part to an exhaustive recent book by M. Michèle Mulcahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study: Dominican Education before 1350*.¹¹⁴ Mulcahey’s treatment of the Roman province (which includes Lucca) is especially thorough since it was partially based on her earlier thesis, which concentrated on that region.

Dominican rules set eighteen as the minimal age for entering the order. Although exceptions were sometimes made to this age, no one younger than fifteen, the canonical age of consent, was ever admitted in Tolomeo’s time, though even this limit was often ignored in the early fourteenth century, when the number of brothers was falling. Eventually, but not until the mid-fourteenth century, the Dominicans accepted oblates. Since none of this would have happened in Tolomeo’s day, the earliest he could have entered the order was 1251 (with an exception) or 1254 (without an exception), assuming a 1236 birth date. It is quite possible that in his earlier teens he attended a Dominican extern school at San Romano, only a few blocks from home, since such schools — which in addition to providing education were geared to direct boys toward the religious life — became widespread sometime before, perhaps long before, the General Chapter of 1264 approved Guillaume de Tournai *De instructione puerorum* for this purpose. If we take Guillaume’s manual as typical, this education centred on faith, morals, and knowledge, and especially sought to teach the virtues of obedience to parents and virginity. Guillaume stresses the learning of the creed and what it meant to be a good Christian, and in matters of religion he relies on Augustine almost exclusively. But he also emphasizes the importance of teaching reason as key to helping his charges understand their faith. In a sermon transcribed in the

¹¹³ Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*. Lesnick contrasts the Dominicans with the Franciscans, who represented more the interests of the lower *popolo* who aspired to political power.

¹¹⁴ Marion Michèle Mulcahey, *First the Bow is Bent in Study: Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998); Marion Michèle Mulcahey, ‘The Emergence and Development of Provincial Houses of Study in the Roman Province of the Dominican Order, 1228–1320’ (unpublished licence thesis, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985).

manual, Guillaume addresses an audience of boys about the kinds of educational discipline they should expect to find in a ‘house of instruction’: ‘the instructive discipline of the mind, the regulating discipline of the rod, and the corrective discipline of good works’.¹¹⁵

Even though we can not be sure what Tolomeo was doing during his childhood and young adulthood, it was an exciting time of dynamic demographic and economic expansion for Lucca, eventually culminating in the construction of the second set of walls around 1265. The political and military situation remained volatile, and the struggle for the Garfagnana reignited. In 1239, Lucca welcomed Emperor Frederick II when he came into Tuscany, since it was still smarting from its humiliation at the hands of the Pope in the Garfagnana. Tolomeo reports this incident with his typical slant: ‘He came to Lucca and Luccans received him with enough grace, nevertheless without offending the Roman Curia, to whose reverence it deferred until modern times.’¹¹⁶ The Luccan military even temporarily allied itself with the Ghibellines in the person of the Cremonan noble Oberto Palavicino, whom in 1242 Frederick installed as imperial vicar in the Garfagnana. It was ‘a singular attitude for a Guelph city’, as Mancini commented.¹¹⁷ But as soon as it could Lucca began once again to reassert its power there.

Tolomeo reports none of this, but he does mention a curious incident of 1246 provoked by Lucca’s increasing domination of the Garfagnana. As Tolomeo tells it, the Cattani, a leading family in the Garfagnana, cut off the hand of a notary, who was a Luccan citizen, because he had brought a candle to the *Volto Santo*, thus signifying his submission to Lucca. Candle ceremonies like this were important lay civic rituals, in which the weight of candles to be used were prescribed in detail in the communal statutes according to the importance of the person or place represented. This gave the Luccans an excuse to respond by sending an armed band who burned and destroyed many villages, castles, farms, vineyards, forests, and groves.¹¹⁸ The next year Frederick sent Lord Bonacurso de Padule to

¹¹⁵ Mulchahey, ‘First the Bow is Bent’, pp. 87–96, citing [Guillaume de Tournai], *De instructione puerorum of William of Tournai*, ed. by James A. Corbett, Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, 3 (Notre Dame: Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1955). The last quotation is Mulchahey’s paraphrase of Guillaume.

¹¹⁶ *Annales*, 1239, p. 123.

¹¹⁷ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, p. 92.

¹¹⁸ *Annales*, 1246, p. 128. Tolomeo does not mention the *Volto Santo* by name; he says only that he brought a candle to the ceremony of the holy cross. See Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. 169–71.

pacify the region, but this only resulted in an alliance between the Garfagnani and Luccans, who managed to have Lord Bonacorso killed. They then expelled Marquis Palavicino, after which Frederick gave up and acknowledged Luccan hegemony over the area. Innocent IV's later attempt to invalidate Frederick's concession after the Emperor's death in 1250 failed.¹¹⁹

Once again Tolomeo failed to mention the actions of the church against Lucca, but he did have much to say about the great struggle throughout the 1240s between Frederick II and Innocent IV, the inception of whose reign he incorrectly dates variously to 1240, 1241, or 1242 instead of 1243.¹²⁰ In addition to the Council of Lyon, which solidified the resistance to Frederick and signalled his decline, Tolomeo reports Innocent's theoretical attack, which emphasized the greater jurisdiction of the pope in Christendom, confirming through this the sentence of his predecessors and especially Innocent III.¹²¹

Meanwhile, Lucca's war with Pisa, in alliance with Florence and Genoa, and later Pistoia, went on. Tied up with these inter-city conflicts was the Guelph-versus-Ghibelline conflict which occurred both between parties in each city and between cities controlled by one or the other party. As is traditional, if not accurate, Tolomeo traces the origins of these parties to the killing of Lord Buondelmonte of Florence in 1215, saying that as a result the parties spread out to various places. Although Tolomeo assumes the general loyalty of Ghibellines to the empire and Guelphs to the pope, he gives no explanation of the Florentine event or why it should have led to such a fundamental and universal division.¹²² As we know, party loyalties, based on local family groups, were much more important than the links to pope and emperor. Tolomeo does not mention the parties again until he is relating the events of 1247, and again his reference is to Florence. In that year, he wrote, the imperial faction expelled the Guelphs from Florence.¹²³ In 1249, Frederick II captured many of the exiles when he and a

¹¹⁹ *Annales*, 1249, p. 129.

¹²⁰ *Annales*, 1240, p. 124, reads 1240 or 1241; *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.1, col. 1141, reads 1242. Tolomeo predicated most of the popes of this period by a year or two, returning to correct dates only with Urban IV in 1261 in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* and Clement IV in 1264 in *Annales*. His dating remained mostly correct with the curious exception of Honorius IV (1285–87), which he had correctly in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, but as 1284–86 in *Annales* (see below).

¹²¹ *Annales*, 1241, p. 125.

¹²² *Annales*, 1215, p. 103.

¹²³ *Annales*, 1247, p. 128.

Florentine Ghibelline army besieged Capraja. Tolomeo comments on this with uncharacteristic irony: ‘The Emperor put out the eyes and sent to Apulia those he captured in the castle, some of whom, having assumed the habit of religion, served the celestial emperor with eyes of an illuminated and clarified mind’.¹²⁴

The struggle with Pisa went on after Frederick’s sudden death in 1250, although this event greatly weakened the Pisan side for a time. Pisa was unable to get help from the Emperor’s successor, Manfred, and was forced into the Peace of Santa Reparata in 1256, after its rout in a decisive battle in the Valle del Serchio.¹²⁵ But then began a series of events that resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Ghibellines. Tolomeo gives more coverage to these events and the ups and downs of the Luccan Guelph cause in the next few years than to anything else in the *Annales*. Manfred sent a large force to help Siena and other Tuscan Ghibellines, which led to the disastrous and bloody defeat of Florence and its allies, including Lucca, at Montaperti in 1260. Tolomeo laments that ‘our forces’ were put to flight because of traitors in the Guelph ranks who joined the enemy, and especially because of the traitors’ surprise attack on their flagbearer, amputating his hand and causing the banner to fall, which panicked the troops. God willed this disaster, Tolomeo believed, to punish the fatuous and puffed-up Florentines. ‘So great’, he wrote, ‘was the slaughter and plundering of spoils by the Sienese, Manfred’s military, and the Ghibellines, that there had been nothing like it in Tuscany after the time of Christ, nor was there any refuge, because every place was fortified by the enemies’.¹²⁶ As a result, ‘all imperial Tuscany except for Lucca and the Guelphs exiled from Florence was converted to the party of the Ghibellines’.¹²⁷ The occasion of Lucca’s emergence as the sole important Guelph city in Tuscany is the first time Tolomeo mentions the party in Lucca. Despite its position, Lucca’s relationship with the pope was not always good, as we have seen with the situation in the Garfagnana. One result of the defeat at Montaperti was a flood of Florentine and other exiles into Lucca. As already mentioned, the earliest surviving constitution of the *popolo* appeared in 1261, and this was an event no doubt exhilarating to a young man who was likely a member of the class whose power was thus institutionalized.

¹²⁴ *Annales*, 1249, p. 129.

¹²⁵ *Annales*, 1256, p. 138.

¹²⁶ *Annales*, 1260, pp. 142–43: ‘Tanta autem facta est strages et spoliorum direptio per Senenses, militiam Manfredi, ac Ghibellinos, quanta non fuit a tempore Christi in partibus Tuscie, necessary erat locus refugii, quia undique hostibus erant vallati.’

¹²⁷ *Annales*, 1261, p. 144.

Eventually Lucca itself suffered a series of reversals in its fortunes and dominance in the region. At first things went fairly well. In 1262, Pope Urban IV sent a legate to Lucca to call a crusade against the Tuscan Ghibellines, but Lucca made peace with its own Ghibellines. They returned, and as part of the settlement the Florentine exiles were forced to leave. Tolomeo lavished great praise on the *podestà* of that year, Bertoldus Ursinus de Roma, who, he said, had so many victories that Lucca and the Guelphs, with the church's support, came close to being victorious throughout Tuscany. However, there was a major defeat in the year after his term, in which German allies of the Ghibellines slaughtered or captured many Guelphs and Luccans. 'And from then', Tolomeo writes, 'it went badly for the Luccans, when before they seemed to be victors and all Tuscany exhausted from battle and the heavy expenses of their virile resistance.'¹²⁸ Finally, in 1265 (actually 1264), 'they subjected themselves to the mandates of Manfred to avoid a greater evil and lest the city perish'. Count Guido Novalli, the imperial vicar, took over. The Guelph exiles from Florence, who must have come back after 1262, were again forced to leave.¹²⁹ Although Tolomeo refers to the 'yoke of lordship',¹³⁰ and although Lucca lost some of its territories, it seems that the period of Ghibelline rule was actually uncharacteristically mild, though there has been some debate about this. But the Luccan Guelphs were not driven into exile, nor does it seem that they were persecuted.¹³¹ It was at this time, although Tolomeo does not mention it, that the office of *anziani* was instituted to replace the consulate, and at first there were five each of the two parties. When Lucca returned to its Guelph alliance in 1266, it apparently did not persecute its Ghibellines. The relative harmony of the factions in Lucca, a city that often preferred to maintain its wealth and territories rather than pursue vengeance and family ambition, puts it in stark contrast to most of the Tuscan cities of the time.

In 1263, Pope Urban IV summoned Charles of Anjou to take over the Kingdom of Sicily from the last Hohenstaufen.¹³² His victory over Manfred at Benevento in 1266 transformed the situation, and the power of the Guelphs and

¹²⁸ *Annales*, 1262–63, pp. 145–48: 'Et extunc semper male cersit Lucanis, cum tamen prius viderentur victores, et tota Tuscia ex ipsorum virili resistantia esset iam fatigata de guerra et expensis gravata.'

¹²⁹ *Annales*, 1265, p. 152.

¹³⁰ *Annales*, 1266, p. 155.

¹³¹ Mazzarosa, *Storia di Lucca*, p. 103; Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, p. 95; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, II, 761; Micheli, 'Uno storcio', p. 88.

¹³² *Annales*, 1263, p. 148.

Luccans was again ascendant.¹³³ The next year, Charles reconquered Tuscany, restored Lucca's former possessions, and himself came to Lucca before returning to the south.¹³⁴ For a couple of more years Lucca had continued struggles — an attack from Curradino, grandson of Frederick, and battles with the Pisans — but in 1268 Charles defeated Curradino in the south and in 1270 he arranged a peace between Pisa and Lucca, which allowed Lucca the freedom both to take part in the failed Eighth Crusade of Louis IX of France and to consolidate its local territories.¹³⁵ At the time of these events, Tolomeo was probably between twenty-five and thirty-five years old. The result of the peace and Charles's success was a general weakening of Pisa, but not an end to hostilities. War broke out again in 1274 and Pisa was thrown into a new crisis in 1284 because of its great defeat by an alliance of Lucca, Florence, and Genoa. These events led to another peace in 1293.

The papacy had an ambivalent relationship with Charles, whom it brought in and whose party it favoured, but whose ambitions in Italy at times threatened it. Tolomeo's later works alternate between affection for the Angevin dynasty, his more common and well-developed position, and suspicion of its attempts to dominate Tuscany and the papacy.

For the whole period of the last days of the Hohenstaufen and the rise of Charles of Anjou we can only speculate about Tolomeo's activities, other than the one incident Tolomeo himself reports. He is not listed in two capitularies of San Romano, on 2 July 1261 and 26 January 1267.¹³⁶ The claim of the seventeenth-century writer Pietro Campi — that Tolomeo was appointed Prefect of the Vatican by Gregory X in 1272¹³⁷ — is almost certainly false and there is absolutely no evidence for it. It is also quite unlikely on the face of it both because of Tolomeo's lack of prominence at the time, as well as its incompatibility with his first definitely known activity, which occurred in the same year (see below).

¹³³ *Annales*, 1266, p. 154.

¹³⁴ *Annales*, 1267, pp. 157–58.

¹³⁵ *Annales*, 1268–70, pp. 158–65. See also Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, p. 98. Tolomeo does not mention Lucca's part in the crusade, although he does relate a long anecdote about an attempted assassination of King Edward of England while on crusade.

¹³⁶ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 2.7.1261, 26.1.1267. See 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, Appendix, p. 370.

¹³⁷ Pietro Maria Campi, *Dell' historia ecclesiastica di Piacenza* (Piacenza: G. Bazachi, 1651–62), 2.305; see also *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Quétif and Echard, p. 541, and Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 15. Gregory X was a native of Piacenza, so it is likely Campi found his claim in some document in the Piacenza archives.

Perhaps it was a distorted version of Campi's account that was responsible for the unsubstantiated, and equally unlikely, claim in the recent *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia* that Tolomeo was the first Apostolic Almoner under Gregory X.¹³⁸ Tolomeo himself wrote that Gregory appointed to that office a lay Dominican brother, John of Subgromino, with whom the Pope had travelled to the Holy Lands.¹³⁹

By Tolomeo's own account, he travelled with Thomas Aquinas from Rome to Naples in 1272, the first certain date we have for his biography. Thomas's journey resulted from a decision of the Roman Provincial Chapter of the Dominican order, which met in mid-June that year immediately after the General Chapter, since both were held in Florence. When the chapter chose Thomas to establish a general *studium* of theology in a city of his choosing within the province, he chose Naples, for unknown reasons. The Dominican house of San Domenico there had earlier been a theological *studium*, and the school may still have existed at this time. Naples was thriving under the rule of Charles of Anjou, who was excited at the opportunity for Naples to become an intellectual centre through the presence of the famous doctor. As evidenced by his charter of 31 July, Charles attempted to recruit both masters and students from the French universities of Paris and Orléans, tempting them not only with Thomas but with Naples's prosperity, peace, climate, and coastal location.¹⁴⁰

Although Tolomeo could have met up with Thomas later in Rome, the most likely scenario is that they met at the chapter and travelled together from there. In either case, he had likely been in Lucca on 27 April when the popularly revered servant-girl Zita, whom Dante but not Tolomeo mentions, died in the home of the family she had served for forty-eight years. Hailed as Santa Zita by the citizens who packed San Frediano for her funeral, she officially earned her title only in the seventeenth century, but her myth and the accounts of her numerous miracles were already widespread throughout Tuscany. She immediately became one of the central cult figures in Lucca.

¹³⁸ *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia*, gen. ed. Philippe Levillain, 3 vols (New York: Routledge, 2002), s.v. 'Almoner, Apostolic'. Levillain, who did not respond to my e-mail enquiry about his claim, gave as the only source the article by J. B. D'Onorio, *Le Pape et le gouvernement de l'église* (Paris: Fleurus-Tardy, 1992), pp. 309, 385, but Tolomeo is not mentioned there.

¹³⁹ *Annales*, 1274, p. 178.

¹⁴⁰ James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Works* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), pp. 295–96, citing *Chart.*, Université de Paris, I, 501–02 n. 443.

Within a month or two of the chapter Tolomeo and Thomas set out south from Rome. On the way, at the castle of Thomas's friend, Cardinal Ricardo Annibaldi, Tolomeo personally witnessed a miracle, one of the very few he reports:

Also, I ought not to be silent about what I saw concerning him that bears on a judgement of his sanctity. For when I was with him coming from Rome, he turned aside to Molaria, the castle of Lord Cardinal Ricardo, where the said doctor was sick with tertian fever and his *socius*, Brother Raymond with a serious and unbroken fever. And since the crucial signs did not appear, the doctors of Lord Ricardo had a poor prognosis for him. Then the venerable doctor took the relics of the Blessed Agnes, which he had brought from Rome with him out of devotion, and sent them to the said Brother, saying that he should place them upon himself, and have full faith in them. Which he did, and he was cured beyond the expectation of all the doctors. For this reason he [Thomas] arranged each year to make a solemn feast for her with a good dinner for the brothers: which he did that year in Naples. But the following year he went to God.¹⁴¹

The last part of this is somewhat confusing. First, since St Agnes's feast day is 21 January and the 1272 trip was probably in late summer 1272, he could not have celebrated her feast day in the same calendar year. Perhaps Tolomeo was just speaking loosely and meant that he had this dinner within a year of the miracle. Or perhaps he was following one of several common medieval calendars in use in different places in Italy and elsewhere that began on various dates, most commonly on the Annunciation, 25 March, so that January 1273 by our reckoning would be 1272 by theirs. While, as we will see, this could also explain some other inconsistencies in Tolomeo's writings, it is also true that he normally used the Luccan practices of beginning the year on 1 January, for example, the election of Innocent V on St Agnes's Day, 21 January 1276, and of Martin IV on 22 February 1281.¹⁴² It is possible that Tolomeo sometimes became confused about the date of events early in the year because various systems were in use in the different places he lived. It is also conceivable (although I have not found other instances of this usage) that since Tolomeo was at that time associated with a *studium*, he,

¹⁴¹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.10, col. 1170: 'Ceterum quod vidi de ipso ad judicium sanctitatis eius tacere non debo. Cum enim ego cum ipso venirem de Roma, declinavit Molariam ad castrum Domini Richardi Cardinalis, ibique praefatus doctor infirmatus est de tertiana, socius vero Frater Raymundus de continua gravi. Et cum non apparerent in eo signa critica, medici Domini Richardi male judicabant de ipso. Tunc venerabilis doctor recepit reliquias Beatae Agnetis, quas ex devotione secum ferebat de Urbe, et misit dicto fratri, quod super se poneret, et haberet fidem plenam in eis. Quod et fecit, et curatus est ultra spem omnium medicorum; propter quam causam disposuerat singulis annis facere festum solenne de ipsa cum bona refectione fratum: quod et illo anno fecit Neapoli. Sequenti vero transiit ad Deum.'

¹⁴² *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.17, col. 1173, XXIV.1, col. 1185.

like modern academics habitually do, was calculating by school years. Second, he did not die before the second commemoration, as the passage implies, since he died on 7 March 1274. However, on St Agnes's Day 1274 he may have already been on his way to the Council of Lyon (although a later January or early February date is more likely), and therefore may not have been in Naples to celebrate it with the brothers. It is also true that Tolomeo often got dates wrong, so perhaps we ought not to read too much into this, or any other inconsistency.

It would be difficult to believe that Tolomeo did not know Thomas before 1272, since he spoke of their relationship as intimate and said that he had frequently heard Thomas's confession, but it is impossible to say with certainty exactly when they first met. Several modern writers have assumed, apparently without reflection, as they provide no reason for their belief, that Tolomeo studied with Thomas in Paris. Yet the only evidence for this is that in 1319 Guglielmo di Tocco, who was a student of Thomas at the *studium* in Naples, reported to the commission investigating Thomas for sainthood that he had often heard from Thomas's nephew and from Tolomeo about a bizarre miracle from Thomas's Parisian period, in which Thomas awoke to find a tooth horribly overgrown which threatened to impede a scheduled disputation that day, but that it fell out after prayer.¹⁴³ This does not mean that Tolomeo was there, especially since he did not recount it in writing, and as Tocco also said that Thomas carried the tooth around with him for a long time, Tolomeo certainly would have heard about it. The other miracle that Tocco says he heard from Tolomeo, concerning the relics of Agnes, is one that Tolomeo himself wrote that he saw.¹⁴⁴

Thomas lectured at Paris from 1252 to 1259 — though he was only a master after 1256 — and again from 1269 to 1272. Tolomeo may have been just old enough to have been in Paris during the earlier period. Kenelm Foster, though he does not say why he thinks this, states that their acquaintance could not have begun before Thomas came to Italy in 1259.¹⁴⁵ However, there is one comment and one mistake of Tolomeo's in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* that support this view. Tolomeo comments that Thomas's mind was so engaged that 'those who

¹⁴³ Guglielmo di Tocco, 'Processus canonizationis sancti Thomae Aquinatis, Neapolit.', §60, in *S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes praecipuae*, ed. by Angelico Ferrua (Alba: Edizione Domenicane, 1968), p. 289: 'Hoc predictus deponens dixit state frequenter audivisse a domino Thomasio de sancto Severino, comite Marsici, dicti fratris Thome nepote, et a fratre Tholomeo, episcopo Torcellensi, qui fuit studens fratris Thome.'

¹⁴⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.10, col. 1170. See above.

¹⁴⁵ Kenelm Foster, *The Life of St. Thomas Aquinas: Biographical Documents* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1959), p. 143 n. 24.

were with him in Paris report that he seemed to be insensible'.¹⁴⁶ Though some writers might give such an oblique reference even if they were witnesses, it would have been unusual for Tolomeo. In the same paragraph he says that Thomas returned to Italy during the pontificate of Urban IV (1261–64), when it was actually two years earlier, when Alexander IV (1254–61) was pope (although Tolomeo dates Alexander's death to 1260).¹⁴⁷ True, he was writing much later, but if he had had his studies with Thomas interrupted at that point, and possibly returned to Italy, he would not likely have forgotten the date or who the pope was at that time. Foster's explanation, that the slip was due to Tolomeo's admiration of Urban,¹⁴⁸ seems actually to suggest the reverse. If Urban seemed so important to him he would have been more likely to remember that he was not yet pope. There is also his already cited comment that he was a witness to events in northern Italy in the mid-1250s, which suggests he was there and not in Paris.

If true, this leaves several periods when Tolomeo could formally have been Thomas's student: 1265–68, when Thomas was at the provincial Dominican *studium* at Santa Sabina in Rome; 1268 or 1269–72, Thomas's second period at the University of Paris; and 1272–74, when he was at the *studium* at Naples, whose courses were accepted by the University of Naples. Tolomeo could also conceivably have heard Thomas lecture when Thomas was lector in the convent in Orvieto from sometime after 14 September 1261, when he was appointed to the position, and where the new pope Urban IV moved his curia in 1262, to September 1265 when Thomas left for Rome. They could have met in 1260, when Thomas served as preacher general for the Roman province of the Dominican order, or much later, in 1267, when we know that Thomas attended the Roman Provincial Chapter at Lucca.¹⁴⁹

If Tolomeo first met Thomas soon after the latter arrived at Orvieto, he may understandably have remembered the pope at the time as the reigning pope when Thomas returned to Italy. Urban was pope from 29 August 1261 (consecrated 4 September) until his death on 2 October 1264, which includes the beginning and most of the rest of the period that Thomas was at Orvieto. That Tolomeo may have first come into contact with Thomas then is also somewhat supported by his insertion under 1262 in the *Annales* of a statement that at that time Brother

¹⁴⁶ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.22, col. 1152. See also Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. x: 'Tradunt qui cum ipso erant Parisiis, ut quasi insensibilis videretur'.

¹⁴⁷ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.22, col. 1152, XXII.16, col. 1149.

¹⁴⁸ Foster, *Life*, p. 141 n. 13.

¹⁴⁹ Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, p. 147.

Thomas Aquinas flourished, and that there would be more mention of him later, as well as the fact that he began his coverage of Thomas in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* under 1261, the earliest date that I have argued they could have met.¹⁵⁰ There would seem to be no reason to include this material under those years unless Tolomeo had met him then, or at least heard much about him. This is also supported by Schmeidler's argument that Tolomeo's errors about the events of Luccan history that began around this time implies that he began his travels in late 1261, or in 1262 at the latest.¹⁵¹

On the other hand, Tolomeo also made a mistake in his record of the other end of Thomas's stay in Orvieto, saying that Thomas was already at the school in Rome during the pontificate of Urban IV,¹⁵² when in actuality he went there only after Urban's death, during the pontificate of Clement IV, which began on 5 February 1265. This suggests to me that although they may well have met earlier, Tolomeo probably did not begin his studies with Thomas until at least sometime after Thomas began to teach in Rome. While he may not have remembered decades later who was pope at every moment in his life, he doubtless would have remembered the death of a pope while he was near the papal Curia in Orvieto, even though Urban had left that city a few days before his death. And had he come to Rome in 1265 at the same time as Thomas he would have been unlikely to forget that a new pope had just been elected. Another indication that Tolomeo was not at Orvieto in late 1264 is that in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* he cited other writers for his report that the brightest comet in living memory appeared three months before Urban's death (i.e., when Urban was still in Orvieto) and disappeared on the day of his death.¹⁵³ Surely, had he been there, Tolomeo would have related his own observations (as he did for other natural occurrences) either to confirm or discredit the reports.

All this means that Tolomeo either stayed in Lucca, making the mistakes Schmeidler indicates anyway, or was assigned elsewhere. One of the errors, mis-dating the subjugation of Lucca to Manfred from late 1264 to 1265, seems to Schmeidler virtually to prove that Tolomeo could not have been there at the time.¹⁵⁴ But Tolomeo is in general rather careless with precise dates, and it is easy

¹⁵⁰ *Annales, Gesta Lucanorum*, 1262, p. 146; *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.20, col. 1151.

¹⁵¹ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. ix–x, agrees that it is possible that Tolomeo was with Thomas in Orvieto in 1261–62.

¹⁵² *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.22, col. 1152.

¹⁵³ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.26, col. 1155.

¹⁵⁴ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. ix.

for me to believe that writing forty years later he may have gotten the year wrong. On the other hand, if the comet were such a prodigy, he certainly would have been able to see it in Lucca, so the balance of the evidence suggests he was not in Tuscany, at least in fall 1264.

Clearly, Tolomeo was in Naples with Thomas — though it is not known for sure that Tolomeo was his student then — since their documented travels together occurred during this period, and since he was at Naples when Thomas died in 1274.¹⁵⁵ There would not have been much time for him to study there, since Thomas arrived to set up the new school late in 1272, probably in September, and on 6 December 1273 stopped academic work completely. It would also have been strange for Thomas to have chosen a new student as his confessor. It seems likely, then, that Tolomeo studied with Thomas for one or more of the other periods. There is no evidence that Tolomeo ever received a university degree, and there would not have been enough time for him to earn one during the time that he was in Paris (1269–72) or Naples (1272–73). The word that Tolomeo uses to describe his pedagogic relationship with Thomas is ‘auditor’, which to Foster implies that he had taken a complete course of lectures from Thomas,¹⁵⁶ although, to me, this does not seem necessarily so. But Guglielmo di Tocco also refers to Tolomeo as Thomas’s student, and Bernardo Gui calls him his ‘disciple and auditor’, which implies much more than hearing an odd lecture.¹⁵⁷ The fact that he was later elected a provincial preacher general shows that he must have studied theology somewhere at least for the requisite three years.¹⁵⁸

Beyond this we cannot say anything with certainty, although most of those who have written on Tolomeo’s life have ventured an opinion, usually without providing any evidence or even an argument to support their claims. Dondaine, Foster, Quétif/Echard, and Schmeidler all favour Rome; Kruger asserts that he studied in Naples only; König favours Paris; Schmeidler says he certainly was not in Paris; Panella, realizing the uncertainty, does not even say that Tolomeo was Thomas’s student.

¹⁵⁵ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.9, col. 1169.

¹⁵⁶ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.8, col. 1169; Foster, *Life*, p. 143 n. 24.

¹⁵⁷ Testimony of Guglielmo di Tocco, in Ferrua, *S. Thomae Aquinatis*, pp. 149–50, 289: ‘et a fratre Tholomeo, episcopo Torcellensi, qui fuit studens fratris Thome’; Bernardo Gui, *Legenda Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*, ibid., §124, p. 189: ‘Ptholomaeus episcopus torsellanus qui discipulus at auditor ejus fuit.’

¹⁵⁸ Ralph F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in the Thirteenth-Century Dominican History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 80.

Schmeidler advances a number of arguments based on the text of the *Annales* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova* to argue for Tolomeo's presence in Rome during and for some time after Thomas's residence there, and for Tolomeo's activities in the years between Thomas's departure and their known association after 1272. Though all are suggestive, and worth repeating, none are definitive, since they depend on the significance of correct or incorrect facts in Tolomeo's historical works, or the relative volume of coverage. Tolomeo's accurate account in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* of Thomas's scholarly activities at Santa Sabina in Rome is enough to convince Schmeidler that Tolomeo was there.¹⁵⁹ He argues further that Tolomeo stayed in Rome after Thomas's departure. Why would he have done so? If the school closed, and Tolomeo's home convent was San Romano, it is likely he would have returned there. Schmeidler bases his assertions on Pierre Mandonnet's now discredited chronology that lists Thomas as being reassigned to the papal Curia in Viterbo soon after the July 1267 General Chapter in Bologna.¹⁶⁰ But there is absolutely no evidence for this, and leading scholars like Jean-Pierre Torrell now believe that Thomas remained in Rome until around September 1268.¹⁶¹ With this understanding, Schmeidler's evidence actually supports my belief that Tolomeo was in Rome until Thomas left: Tolomeo gives a full account of Henry of Castile's activities in Rome in spring 1268,¹⁶² and he provides a correct date for Conradin's departure from Rome on 18 August 1268, despite an incorrect date of 10 August in his source, the *Gesta Florentinorum*.¹⁶³ His account of Conradin's downfall at the Battle of Tagliacozzo later that month was also quite accurate, although he, with the *Gesta*, was one day off on the date.¹⁶⁴ Conversely, Tolomeo generally followed his incorrect source material for Tuscan affairs in 1267 and 1268.¹⁶⁵ Surprisingly, he does not mention Conradin's looting of Santa Sabina in July, which he must have heard of whether or not he was there.

¹⁵⁹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, xxii.24, col. 1153; Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xi.

¹⁶⁰ Pierre Mandonnet, *Bibliographie thomiste* (Kain, Belgium: Le Saulchoir, 1921), p. 90.

¹⁶¹ Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, I: *The Saint and his Work*, trans. by Robert Royal (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 179–81 (first publ. as *Initiation à Saint Thomas d'Aquin: Sa person et son oeuvre* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires Fribourg, 1993)).

¹⁶² *Annales*, 1268, p. 163; Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xi.

¹⁶³ *Annales*, 1268, p. 161; Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xi.

¹⁶⁴ *Annales*, 1268, pp. 161–62; Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xi. Tolomeo gives the date as St Bartholomew's Day (i.e., 24 August instead of 25 August).

¹⁶⁵ *Annales*, 1267, p. 157. In one case he corrected a date, but he left it under the incorrect year. See Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xii.

Further evidence for Tolomeo's Roman stay are a number of comments, cited by Schmeidler, that show a familiarity with the city and its buildings. For example, Tolomeo describes a painting in Rome in which the Arian pope Liberius is depicted without a crown, mentions a Roman variation of the feast of Pope St Martin I, comments that Pope Innocent III's Hospice of the Holy Spirit was still providing hospitality, and quotes an epitaph of a subordinate of Charlemagne in a 'certain church near St Peter's'.¹⁶⁶ Since we know that Tolomeo was in Rome in 1272, and he could have learned these things then, during another trip, or even from other sources, they add little to the question of his studying with Thomas there. But if he stayed in Santa Sabina at any time, the panoramic view from its garden, and from nearby locations, over both the Tiber and the ancient ruins of the Palatine Hill would surely have stoked his fascination with the glory of ancient Rome.

A separate kind of support for the argument that Tolomeo was with Thomas in Rome, although none of his previous biographers have noticed it, is the connection between Thomas's curriculum in Rome and the content of Tolomeo's only theological work, *De operibus sex dierum*. It is well known that Thomas disputed a series of questions in Rome dealing with Creation¹⁶⁷ — the subject of Tolomeo's treatise — and that, beginning in the second school year, he wrote the *Prima pars* of *Summa theologiae*, which also contained sections on the days of Creation. Marion Mulchahey has proposed a reconstruction of the entire course of study at Santa Sabina under Thomas, and this extends the similarities. Assuming that Thomas followed the usual practice of doing two sets of lectures throughout each school year, Mulchahey deduces that the first set consisted of the *Sentences* the first year and portions of the *Prima pars* of the *Summa* during the second and third years, and the second set of pseudo-Dionysius's *De divinis nominibus* the first and second year, and Aristotle's *De anima* the third.¹⁶⁸ Once again, Tolomeo used both of these last two works heavily in *De operibus sex dierum*. Of course, he could have taken the material from *Summa theologiae* and the other works afterward, but the fact that Tolomeo's only exegetical work so closely parallels the course of study in Rome suggests rather that he felt the urge

¹⁶⁶ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, v.23, col. 835, xii.15, col. 938 (Schmeidler mistakenly cites Book XXI), XXI.16, col. 1127; *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 2, p. 468b. See Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xi n. 8. References to documents in 'the archives of Roman Church', such as at *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.31, could just as well refer to things he saw in Avignon, not Rome.

¹⁶⁷ Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, p. 199.

¹⁶⁸ Mulchahey, 'First the Bow is Bent', pp. 278–306; chart on p. 303.

to expound further material whose oral exposition by a great teacher had so impressed him.

According to Tolomeo's catalogue of Thomas's works, Thomas wrote his second commentary on the first book of the *Sentences* in Rome. He added that he himself had seen the commentary in Lucca but never saw it again. Manuscripts of Tolomeo's Church history differ on whether the reason was that the book disappeared or that he himself was called away from Lucca. The first reading is more likely, since Bernardo Gui wrote in 1323 that Tolomeo, whom he identifies as Bishop of Torcello, asserts in his chronicle that Thomas's work was secretly removed from Lucca and therefore not copied. Since these details go beyond what is in Tolomeo's text, both in the secrecy and in the explanation that this was why it was not copied, it seems likely, despite the citation, that Bernardo heard it directly from Tolomeo. It also would suggest that the Luccan copy was the original, since only this would explain how the loss precluded further copies. It would be tempting to assume that Tolomeo took the manuscript to Lucca when he left Rome, except for the fact that he merely said that he saw it there.¹⁶⁹

Schmeidler asserts that Tolomeo moved to Lucca, or at least Tuscany, shortly after the summer of 1268, and returned to Rome only around 1272, when we know he began the journey with Thomas from there to Naples. Beginning in 1269 the *Annales* once again contains more complete entries with respect to Lucca and Tuscany, and many details not found in the sources. One example of this is the treatment of the 1270 earthquake in Borgo San Sepulcro that drove all the inhabitants from their homes for an extended period.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.15, cols 1172–73: ‘Scripsit etiam eo tempore, quo fuit Rome, de quo supra dictum, iam magister existens, primum super Sententias, quem ego vidi Luca; sed inde subtractum [or subtractus] nusquam ulterius vidi.’ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5125A, membr., s.xiv, an early fourteenth-century copy of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* made in Avignon, has ‘subtractus’, implying that it was Tolomeo who left Lucca rather than the book. Antoine Dondaine, ‘Les “opuscula fratriss Thomae” chez Ptolémé de Lucques’, *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 31 (1961), 142–203 (p. 155), also prefers this reading. Bernardo Gui, *Legenda sancti Thomae*, §124, p. 189: ‘scripsit iterum scriptum super primum sentenciarum sicut testatur in cronica sua dominus frater Ptholomaeus episcopis torcellanus qui discipulus et auditor eius fuit, asserens se vidisse illud in convento luchano, quod nunc non invenitur, quia clam sublatum fuisse creditur ed ideo non fuit multiplicatum.’ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 211, suggests that Tolomeo saw it around 1285, when he was first mentioned in a San Romano capitulary, but there is no good reason to conclude this.

¹⁷⁰ *Annales*, 1270, p. 167; Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xii. The incident was also recounted in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.42, col. 1164.

Taking into account all these speculations, the most likely scenario is that Tolomeo met Thomas in the early 1260s in Orvieto while Tolomeo was still a brother at San Romano. He was out of Tuscany for at least part of the period between 1262 and 1265, though we do not know where, and he went to Rome in late 1265 or 1266 to begin his studies with Thomas, remaining there until Thomas's departure in 1268, then returned to San Romano until Thomas came back to Italy in 1272. Shortly afterward, Tolomeo met him in Rome, or more likely at the General Chapter of the Dominican order at Santa Maria Novella in Florence or the Roman Provincial Chapter that followed, and proceeded with him to Naples to continue his studies in 1272–73. This would have confined their time together to a total of less than five years out of a total acquaintance of twelve years: a short time in Orvieto, less than three years in Rome, a maximum of three months travelling in 1272, and seventeen months in Naples (including the two last months when Thomas was incapable of working).

Mulcahey has also reconstructed the curriculum at San Domenico in Naples. According to her, Thomas continued with the *Summa*, which she believes he wrote with the intention that it would be a replacement for the *Sentences* in theological curricula, covering the first sixty questions of the *Tertia pars* in the first school year, and the next thirty in the second, half-year. As was traditional in the university curriculum — but not what he did at the Dominican *studium* in Rome — his second set of lectures was on the Bible, Psalms 1–54 the first year and Romans and part of I Corinthians in the second. More controversially, Mulcahey argues that Thomas used his disputed question, *De unione verbi incarnati*, for the first-year disputation.¹⁷¹ None of Tolomeo's work displays strong parallels with or great influence from these materials, but if Thomas also wrote *De regimine principum* in Naples, as is likely under Christoph Flüeler's recent dating of 1271–73,¹⁷² this could explain Tolomeo's close relationship to it and his possible guardianship of the manuscript after Thomas's death. Thomas also completed work in Naples on his commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, *De caelo et mundi*, and *De generatione et corruptione*, all of which play a large role in Tolomeo's *De operibus sex dierum*.

Other than his brief comments on his relationship to Thomas, Tolomeo sheds little light on this period of his own life. Although he doubtless witnessed many of the events of Thomas's life that he reports, he mentions his presence only on three occasions. The first is the trip from Rome to Naples mentioned above. The

¹⁷¹ Mulchahey, 'First the Bow is Bent', pp. 309–21; chart on p. 320.

¹⁷² Christoph Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen 'Politica' im späten Mittelalter*, Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie, 19, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1992), I, 23–29.

second is when Thomas tells Tolomeo in Naples of a vision he had, in which Brother Romanus — who succeeded Thomas at the University of Paris but who died soon afterward — came to Thomas and told him that the vision of the divine essence was nobler than what had been written about it, as Thomas himself would soon learn.¹⁷³ The third is an account of Tolomeo and the *studium* learning of Thomas's death at Fossanova, which involves a very similar vision. Tolomeo remained at Naples when Thomas set off, in late January or early February 1274, on his final trip, after Pope Gregory X had summoned him to the Second Council of Lyon. Tolomeo relates a dream that one of the brothers had in which Thomas, sitting in his teacher's chair in Naples, was lecturing on Paul's Epistles to a distinguished audience when the apostle Paul himself entered and spoke to Thomas. He told him that his interpretation of his Epistles was as accurate as possible for someone to have in this life, but that he would soon understand their meaning perfectly. He then led Thomas away, pulling at the hem of his cloak, while the dreamer called for help. Tolomeo concludes: 'After three days a messenger came to Naples from the Campagna, announcing to us the passage of the said father and doctor.'¹⁷⁴ It is not clear whether the dream took place at the actual time of Thomas's death on 7 March, but three days is a reasonable length of time for the word to have reached Naples.

Tolomeo's activities during the next ten years continue to be known only sketchily. Schmeidler believes that he returned to Lucca shortly after Thomas's death, basing his conclusion as usual on the rather precise entries that begin to appear in the *Annales* at that time. By similar reasoning he argues that Tolomeo attended the General Chapter of the Dominican order in Pisa in May 1276, because of his detailed account of the devastating Luccan attack on Pisa while the chapter was in session.¹⁷⁵ In addition, Tolomeo's mention that all the cardinals passed through Lucca in 1275, when Pope Gregory X was in Tuscany shortly before his death trying to arrange a peace in the Guelph war against Pisa, might be an indication that he was there in that year.¹⁷⁶ However, his name does not appear in a list of twenty-six members of the Chapter of San Romano in a document dated 27 February 1279.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.16, col. 1173.

¹⁷⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.9, cols 1169–70: 'Post tres autem dies nuntius venit Neapolim de Campania, nuntians nobis transitum dicti patris et doctoris.'

¹⁷⁵ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xii–xiii; *Annales*, 1276, p. 181.

¹⁷⁶ *Annales*, 1275, p. 179.

¹⁷⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 27.2.1279. The complete list is reproduced in Emilio Panella, 'Quel che la cronaca conventuale non dice: Santa Maria Novella

Although it tells us little about what Tolomeo was doing in this period, his earliest surviving treatise, *De iurisdictione imperii*, reveals something of what he was thinking. Its dating is controversial (I will discuss this in detail in Part II of this book), but Charles Till Davis, with whom I agree, argues that it was composed between late 1277 and late 1278 and that it was an attempt to engage Pope Nicholas III (1277–80) on some important issues concerning the rights of the Emperor.¹⁷⁸ The immediate stimulus was, according to Davis, the as-yet undecided relationship of Nicholas to the elected and confirmed but uncrowned emperor Rudolf von Habsburg, while Charles of Anjou still held the vicariate of Tuscany. Charles's loss of the vicariate in late 1278 by papal order could have been predicted, since the Orsini faction in the Curia, which had come to power in the person of Nicholas (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini), had long opposed him, but it was not clear who would replace him. The Pope might potentially support Rudolf, but he was contending with him over rule in the Romagna, and Tolomeo may have been trying to prevent him trading Tuscany for the Romagna. The demotion of Charles was not welcome to Tolomeo or the Luccans, who had benefited from his rule and had joined him in his war against Genoa in 1273. Although Tolomeo had much good to say about Nicholas, he coupled his report in *Annales* of Charles's loss with an anecdote of how the Luccans got the better of the Pope, who had challenged their control of two territories.¹⁷⁹

Within his various arguments in *De iurisdictione imperii* about the proper relationship of church and empire, Tolomeo inserted a section praising the Roman Republic, which has no obvious connection to the purpose of the treatise. At the end he includes another such section comparing the cardinals to the Roman senators. Davis argues that this only makes sense if it were addressed to a pope with similar views, and he points to republican elements in Nicholas's proclamations at the beginning of his reign and cites a document Nicholas wrote on the election of Roman senators to support his assertion that Nicholas is the addressee. In it, he calls the cardinals his 'coadjutors' in such matters and describes their responsibility to give free counsel, and the Pope's to seek it, in order to assure the preservation of the city. In one passage Tolomeo uses the same word, 'coadjutor', to describe the relationship both between parliaments and kings and

1280–1330', *Memorie domenicane*, n.s., 18 (1987), 227–325 (p. 248 n. 60), and in 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, Appendix, p. 371, there taken from Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, *Aneddoti e altre memorie*, p. 195.

¹⁷⁸ Davis, 'Roman Patriotism and Republican Propaganda'.

¹⁷⁹ *Annales*, 1273, p. 174; 1279, p. 190.

cardinals and popes. In both cases his intent is to stress the importance of counsel in any government, and he even makes a direct comparison of cardinals and senators.¹⁸⁰

Especially interesting is a document that Davis introduces to support his claims for Nicholas's republicanism: a manuscript of *Historia Romanorum*, a translation into the Roman dialect of a twelfth-century Latin chronicle, *Multe ystorie et Troiane et Romane*, the script of which is characteristic of the Roman Curia in the years around 1280.¹⁸¹ Almost half the text and illuminations concern the republic and its heroes, and the explicit is followed by a full-page illumination not found in the exemplar, which, Davis suggests, was possibly added at Nicholas's instructions or to reflect his policy. This illumination reproduced on the cover of this book depicts a haloed woman standing on a lion and holding a church in her left hand and an orb surmounted by an angel holding a red banner in her right hand. All of these are labelled, so their meaning is not in doubt. The woman is the 'Roman Church', the church is the 'church of God', the orb, which is inscribed as a T-O world map, is 'all the world', the angel is the 'triumph of the clergy', and 'the lion signifies the Roman Empire'. Such a combination of papal hierarchy and republicanism is exactly what characterized Tolomeo's thought.

Did Nicholas's early pronouncements and sympathies condition the manner of Tolomeo's approach? Or was Tolomeo at Viterbo or Rome and there influenced Nicholas's views? These questions can probably never be answered, but the similarities of position and language, especially at a time when the language of and justification for republicanism had not yet been highly developed, is intriguing.

The intractable problem of Sicily dominated papal policy for the next twenty years. In 1281 Charles of Anjou's fortunes revived with the election of a Frenchman, Martin IV (1281–85), as pope, only to be dashed by the Sicilian revolt of 1282. There followed an endless series of wars, particularly with Peter of Aragon for control of Sicily. After Charles died in 1285, his heir, Charles II of Naples (or Salerno), then captive of the King of Aragon, had periodically to be coerced by several popes to assert his claim to Sicily, until finally in 1303 Pope Boniface VIII

¹⁸⁰ *Les Registres de Nicolas III, 1277–1280*, ed. by Jules Gay and Suzanne Vitte, 2 vols (Paris: Fontemoing, 1898–1938), I, no. 296, p. 106); *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 31, pp. 63–64.

¹⁸¹ See *Historia Romanorum [Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum]: Codex 151 in scirno, Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek Hamburg*, ed. by Tilo Brandis and Otto Pächt (Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1974) for a translation of *Multe Ystorie et Troiane et Romane*. For the texts of the original and translation, see *Storie de Troja et de Roma, altrimenti dette Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum: Testo romanesco del secolo XIII, Preceduto da un testo latino da cui deriva*, ed. by E. Monaci, Miscellanea della R. Società Romana di storia patria, 5 (Rome: Società Romana di storia patria, 1920).

gave up and accepted the de facto rule of Frederick of Aragon. Despite the Angevin decline, the Guelph cities in Tuscany thrived, and by the mid-eighties the party dominated all but Pisa and Arezzo. At this time Tolomeo returns to the historical record for the first time since Thomas's death. Schmeidler has detected a great change in the entries in *Annales* from 1282 to 1287, which he asserts demonstrates a lack of personal familiarity with Tuscan events. There is also direct evidence for his absence from Tuscany and even Italy for some of this period.¹⁸² In the *Annales* under 1279 (but referring to future events following the Sicilian Vespers of 30 March 1282) Tolomeo includes a rare personal comment, saying that he himself had seen the assembly of a fleet in the Rhône at Tarascon in preparation for an attack on Vienne.¹⁸³ There is no indication of why Tolomeo was there, although some have suggested he was travelling to satisfy his well-documented affection for archives. But he had not yet published anything that required such research (all we know that he may have written at this point was *De iurisdictione imperii*), and Dondaine has made the more reasonable suggestion that he took advantage of opportunities to accompany others on trips in order to visit local archives.¹⁸⁴ The question is why he was there at that time. One possibility is that he was attending the Dominican General Chapter of 1282. All modern accounts say that this took place in Vienna, but the last sentence of the Chapter of 1281 says, 'We assign the following General Chapter to *Vienne* in the province of Teutonia.' And the heading of the 1282 chapter reads: 'Acts of the General Chapter at *Viennam* in Teutonia'.¹⁸⁵ As I translated in the excerpt from the *Annales* just above, *Vienna* is the usual medieval Latin word for 'Vienne', not 'Vienna'. There the meaning was absolutely clear since Vienne and Tarascon, though not Vienna, are on the Rhône. In the chapter record it is not so clear, since though *Vindobona* or *Viennense* or *Viennensis* are more common words

¹⁸² Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xiii.

¹⁸³ *Annales*, 1279, pp. 190–91: 'unde et, quando Sicilia rebellavit, factus erat apparatus navium in Rodano circa Terrascone, quem ego vidi, ad invadendum Viennam'.

¹⁸⁴ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 166 n. 46.

¹⁸⁵ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. by Benedictus Maria Reichert, 2 vols, *Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica*, 3–4 (Rome: Typographia polyglotta, 1898–99), Florence, 1281, i, 215: 'Sequens generale capitulum assignamus Vienne in provincia Theotonia'; Vienna, 1282, i, 215: 'Acta Capituli Generalis apud Viennam in Theotonia'. Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, p. 254, gives the location as Vienna, as do various other references I have seen. None of them, however, give any details to confirm which of the two cities was meant. Tolomeo uses 'Vienna' to mean 'Vienne' elsewhere, e.g., *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.4, col. 1166, XXIII.5, col. 1167.

for Vienna, Vienna was used occasionally. Both would have been in the German province in 1282, though Vienne is now in France. Beginning as usual on the Saturday before Pentecost, the General Chapter would have assembled on 16 May, almost two months after the Vespers, giving plenty of time for the news to have arrived of the disaster in Sicily. Though Tarascon is well over one hundred miles south of Vienne, about twenty miles south of Avignon, Tolomeo might have passed it on his way or, more likely given the chronology, on his way back from the chapter, especially if he travelled by sea from Marseille to Tuscany. This seems the most likely explanation to me.

In 1285 Tolomeo was in southern France, where, by his account in the *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, he heard firsthand accounts from ‘those who were then present’ of a battle in which a small group of knights of the French king Philip III protected the King’s supplies and treasures by routing a large force led by Peter of Aragon, whom they wounded mortally. Tolomeo notes that his account of the war against Aragon differs from that in the French chronicles, and adds that he himself saw Philip’s ‘immeasurable’ treasure, as well as supplies for the army, being transported from France in large jars.¹⁸⁶ The implication is that Tolomeo himself was not present at the battle, but one interpretation of his seeing the treasure ‘transported from France’ is that he actually was in Spain. However, he may merely have been close to the Spanish border, since the only place that he mentions that Philip’s army passed through was Perpignan, only about twenty miles from Spain and fifty miles from Gerona, Philip’s Catalonian conquest and the only other city Tolomeo mentions in this account.¹⁸⁷ He did likely visit Spain at some point, since in his treatment of earlier Spanish Christianity, he wrote: ‘I saw clergy of the church of Toledo who said that the blessed Isidore had celebrated Mass in the said church.’¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, xxiv.16, cols 1192–93: ‘Sed quidquid fit de ista historia sic relata, ego tamen aliter quantum ad pugnam Gallicorum cum rege Aragonum audivi referri. Audivi enim ab iis qui tunc fuerunt presentes, et viri erant digni fide [...] Dum haec autem aguntur, fodrum transit illesum, ubi erat thesaurus regis, qui erat immensurabilis; et ego vidi in doliis transportari de Francia. Item in dicto fodro erant victualia pro exercitu, que nimis erant necessaria.’

¹⁸⁷ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, xxiv.14, col. 1192; see Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xiii n. 5.

¹⁸⁸ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, xi.22, col. 925: ‘ego vidi clericos Ecclesiae Toletane, qui dicebant beatum Isidorum fecisse in dicta ecclesia missam’. See Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xiii n. 6 and *De regimine principum*, iii.22.3–4.

There is little evidence to indicate where Tolomeo had been between 1282 and 1285, whether he had been in the French/German area the whole time or had gone back to Italy or elsewhere (other than the hint mentioned above that he may have been travelling to Italy in mid-1282), but as usual Schmeidler makes some suggestions based on Tolomeo's historical narratives. He asserts that the use of Spanish sources and traditions in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, including the comment on Toledo just mentioned and his comments on Castilian government in *De regimine principum*, indicate that Tolomeo travelled in Spain in the 1282–87 period. This seems likely, though there is no proof. Schmeidler also claims that Tolomeo's coverage of King Edward I of England's visit to Gascony suggests that Tolomeo was still in the south of France in 1286, especially since he continued to be vague or make errors about events in Tuscany at that time, and because he rarely included details in the *Annales* about faraway events that he had only heard about unless there was some personal reason or unless they had great historical significance in his mind. Still, the information on Edward is rather terse, saying only that the King came to Gascony to free Lord Charles and later went to Catalonia to conclude a treaty with King Alfonso.¹⁸⁹

There is one very strong piece of evidence proving that Tolomeo did return to San Romano for some time during this period, although this can no longer be independently confirmed. According to the eighteenth-century writer Federico Vincenzo di Poggio, whose word we can trust in such matters, a document in the archives of San Romano, now missing, included 'Tholomeus Fiadonis' in a list of members of the convent's chapter in January 1285, which di Poggio transcribed.¹⁹⁰ However, we can discount Innocenzo Taurisano's statement that in 1285 Tolomeo was prior of San Romano for the first time,¹⁹¹ since the document that Taurisano cites from the Baluze/Mansi edition is really from 1295. His error stems from the fact that there is a typographical error in the header of the Mansi document giving the year as 1285, though 1295 appears correctly in the text.¹⁹² Putting all these things together, the most likely scenario is that Tolomeo went

¹⁸⁹ *Annales*, 1286, p. 208; Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xiii–xiv.

¹⁹⁰ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 211, citing Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 16.1.1285. Di Poggio's list is reproduced in 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi Appendix, p. 371.

¹⁹¹ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 61, 209.

¹⁹² *Miscellanea*, ed. by Étienne Baluze and Giovanni Domenico Mansi, 4 vols (Lucca: Riccomini, 1761–64), IV, 605–06; the original document can be found at Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 6.2.1295.

to the General Chapter of 1282 in Vienne, returned to San Romano until 1285, when for unknown reasons he travelled to France and Spain for a year or two before returning to Lucca.

We can place Tolomeo with certainty at San Romano in 1287. The Roman Provincial Chapter of that year, which met in Rome, declared: ‘this year we release Brothers Bono and Tholomeo of Lucca from attending lectures [the standard ones held in every Dominican house] and depute them to the Luccan convent, so that they may help the convent prepare for the General Chapter [of 1288].’¹⁹³ At least to the Luccans, this meeting was a great success. Tolomeo describes with enthusiasm the assembly, which opened on May 15, the Saturday before Pentecost:

In the same year the General Chapter of the Friars Preachers was celebrated in Lucca, which was honourably received by all the citizens, as a whole and individually, with the fame as it were of all the world. At that time, the Luccan commune gave five hundred florins to the convent; and many citizens made great and large charitable gifts to the chapter.¹⁹⁴

In the *Chronicle of San Romano* it states that at the Provincial Chapter of 1288, held immediately after the General Chapter, Brother Salvo da Barga, a Luccan brother, was chosen to be provincial prior.¹⁹⁵ Tolomeo could also pride himself, though he does not mention it, on being elected, along with Guglielmo di Tocco and others, to be a preacher general.¹⁹⁶ The chronicle states that Tolomeo was prior in 1288 and 1289, but not whether he was prior during the Chapter of 1288. Clearly he had not been prior at the time of the Provincial Chapter of 1287. Possibly the success of the chapter made him a likely candidate. Salvo was certainly prior in 1285–86, and it is likely that he continued in that office until he was promoted in 1288; as the chronicle points out with respect to Tolomeo, the constitution of the Dominican order allowed one to be prior in successive years.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Rome, 1287, p. 80: ‘Item parcimus hoc anno a lectione fratribus Bono et Tholomeo Lucano et deputamus eos conventu Lucano, ut iuuent conventum pro capitulo generali.’

¹⁹⁴ *Annales*, 1288, p. 217: ‘Eodem anno fuit Luce celebratum generale capitulum fratrum Predicotorum, quod fuit honorabiliter receptum ab omnibus civibus in comuni et in particulari cum fama totius quasi orbis. Tunc Lucanum comune donavit capitulo 500 florenos; multi etiam cives fecerunt capitulo magnas et largas elemosinas.’

¹⁹⁵ ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, pp. 5 (fol. 8^r), 7 (fol. 11^r).

¹⁹⁶ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Lucca, 1288, p. 90: ‘Facimus predicatores generales fratres Iacobum de Fusignano, Zintium de Aquila, Tholomeum Lucanum, Gulielmum de Tocco.’

¹⁹⁷ ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 7 (fol. 11^r).

But there survives no record of who was prior between 1286 and the fall of 1288, and the mention of Salvo in the minutes of the General Chapter does not refer to him prior: ‘We impose on all brothers who behaved irreverently toward Brother Salvo, vicar of the venerable father, the master of the order in certain convents, three days on bread and water.’¹⁹⁸ It is not certain what kind of vicar Salvo was — certainly not a vicar general, since Munio de Zamora, the master, was in office and present. This is the only kind of vicar of the master for which regular procedures were established, but this was the kind of office usually filled by a prior. For example, if the provincial prior did not appoint a vicar, the prior of the convent holding the next provincial chapter would automatically be vicar, and in this year it would be the Luccan prior, again suggesting that Salvo remained prior until 1288.¹⁹⁹ Terms of office of Dominican priors in the thirteenth century varied greatly. They were elected by the Conventual Chapter and served until ‘absolved’ either by their own chapter or by the Provincial or General Chapter, the provincial prior, or the master general. In some places priors served for many years, in others only for a year or so, and though absolution could be imposed as a punishment for faults or to allow promotion, often there was no criticism involved.²⁰⁰ The most likely scenario in this case is that Salvo’s election left a vacancy that Tolomeo filled.

A document of August 1288 states that the subprior of San Romano, Lazzaro, was the prior’s vicar but it does not name the prior, and Tolomeo is not listed as one of the twenty-two chapter members.²⁰¹ So at this point it is not yet certain that Tolomeo had become prior. Finally Tolomeo was called ‘prior’ for the first time on the back of a bull of Pope Nicholas, dated 22 September. The bull, which is concerned with the privileges of the Hospice of San Pellegrino della Alpi, itself

¹⁹⁸ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Lucca, 1288, I, 246: ‘Omnibus fratribus, qui irreverenter habuerunt se ad fratrem Salvum, vicarium venerabilis patris magistri ordinis in quibusdam conventibus, iniungimus tres dies in pane et aqua’. Since the General Chapter was held first, Salvo had not yet been elected provincial prior.

¹⁹⁹ G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1218–1360* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1925), pp. 146, 150–52. Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 243–44, is confident that Tolomeo was prior at the time of the General Chapter, but he cites no evidence for this.

²⁰⁰ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, pp. 121–25.

²⁰¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 27.8.1288: ‘frater Lazarus de Luca, subprior conventus fratrum Predicorum de Luca atque vicarius prioris conventus eiusdem’. The complete list of brothers is reproduced in ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, Appendix, pp. 371–72, and the entire document in di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 238–39.

mentions no prior by name, but on the verso reproduced as the frontispiece of this book, in a different hand, is written:

Brother Tolomeus, Prior of the Preachers, presented this letter to the same archdeacon in the Hospice of Saint Martin with the notary Guido Caldovillani present and the priest Ubaldo, chaplain of the Hospice, and the priest Dainese. In the year 1288, the thirtieth day of October.

There is another copy of this letter in the archives of San Romano, presumably the one Tolomeo received, and of which he had a copy made for presentation.²⁰² Most likely the inscription is in Tolomeo's own hand, which makes the latest date for his election as prior October 1288.

Tolomeo reports a number of other important events of 1288, including the downfall of Count Ugolino da Pisa (see below), and a new treaty between Lucca and the empire. Although King Rudolf was unable to defend his claims, Lucca agreed to pay his vicar, Count Percivallis de Flesco, twelve thousand florins for the official lordship of their territory.²⁰³ The years 1287 and 1288 were of immense personal importance to Tolomeo, who in little more than a year (perhaps less) achieved the greatest public recognition of his life to date: preacher general, organizer and host of a general and provincial chapter of his order, and prior of his house for the first time. One would think that he would never forget any of the events of that year. And yet in *Annales* (though not in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*) he makes a blunder — putting Pope Honorius IV's death in 1286 instead of 1287 — that shows how tenuous the method of basing Tolomeo's activities on the accuracy of his dates is. We do not know the exact date of the Provincial Chapter at Santa Sabina in Rome of 1287, but it met a few months after Honorius's death in Rome on 3 April. The deeply divided papal conclave, which also convened in Santa Sabina, must have temporarily adjourned by the time of the chapter, since the minutes of the chapter include prayers for the souls of several cardinals who had died in a fever that caused the adjournment, as well as for the late pope.²⁰⁴ Tolomeo gives vivid details of the disease that broke out in the city at the time of the electoral conclave, and in particular of how Cardinal

²⁰² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 22.9.1288: 'Frater Tolomeus prior predicatorum presentavit eidem archdiacono has literas in hospitali Sancti Martini, presentibus Guido Caldovillani notario et presbitero Ubaldo cappellano hospitalis et presbitero Dainese anno mcccxxxviii, die xxx octubris.'

²⁰³ *Annales*, 1288, pp. 214–15.

²⁰⁴ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Rome, 1287, p. 82. We know that the cardinals died in the conclave from Tolomeo in *Annales*, 1287, pp. 210–11.

Girolamo — who became Pope Nicholas IV on 15 February 1288, shortly after the cardinals reconvened at Santa Sabina — alone remained in Rome and escaped serious illness by constantly burning coals in his rooms despite the scorching Roman summer heat. Tolomeo reports only that it was said that he did this, which suggests that he himself did not attend the chapter, where he would have had more direct information.²⁰⁵

After October 1288, we next hear of Tolomeo in a document of 20 January 1289 concerning Brother Paolo Vernacci acting as procurator in certain affairs of the Dominican convents of Lucca and Prato, ‘with the consent and will of Brother Tholomeus, Prior of the convent of Friars Preachers of Lucca’.²⁰⁶ In another document of 3 May 1289 ‘Brother Tholomeus Fiadonis, Prior of the convent of Friars Preachers of Lucca’, and a Luccan Franciscan, Gugliemo Guardino, acted in their capacity as executors of the will of the late Lord Ugolino di Cascina (this is not Count Ugolino).²⁰⁷ Less than one month later, on 29 June 1289, when Tolomeo witnessed the will of Ughetto in the Benedictine monastery of San Michele in Guamo, a town just south of Lucca, he is referred to simply as ‘Brother Tolomeus de Fiadonibus of Lucca’.²⁰⁸ This suggests, though it does not prove — since, as we will see later, there exists a document for a time when Tolomeo was certainly prior that does not call him ‘prior’ — that Tolomeo became prior in May or June 1288 at the time of the chapter meetings in Lucca, or shortly after, and served a year term, which expired sometime between 5 May and 29 June 1289. As part of his duties as prior he would have attended the Provincial Chapter of 1289 in Viterbo, and he was likely to have been absolved there or shortly afterward. So he was likely not prior when on 13 December 1289 Pope

²⁰⁵ *Annales*, 1287, p. 211. Recension A says that all the cardinals remained shut up in Santa Sabina until the election of Nicholas IV. B, often less reliable, is more so in this case, not only correctly reporting the departure of the cardinals, but also placing the conclave, though not Honoriūs’s death, in 1287. It also adds, credibly, that they remained in Rome as long as they did because of the clamour of the senators and Roman people.

²⁰⁶ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 20.1.1289: ‘consensu et voluntate frater Tholomeus prior conventus predicatorum fratrum de Luca’.

²⁰⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Nicolao, 3.5.1289: ‘frater Tholomeus Fiadonis prior conventus fratrum predicatorum de Luca’.

²⁰⁸ Archivio Arcivescovile di Lucca, pergam. *0, n°94, 29.6.1289: ‘coram [...] fratre Tholomeo de Fiadonibus de Luca’. San Romano and San Michele were closely related; the latter maintained a house in Piazza San Romano beginning in the twelfth century. For the monastery and its role as a repository for official Luccan documents, see Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery*, *passim*, and p. 42 for their Luccan house.

Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope, announced an indulgence for those who visited San Romano on all the feasts of the Virgin; a fourteenth-century pope extended this indulgence.²⁰⁹

In a document from January or February 1291, Tolomeo appears as a witness and is not called 'prior'.²¹⁰ With the possible exception of a badly damaged document in which Tolomeo witnessed the second transfer of a small debt that was transferred by the original creditor in 1291,²¹¹ there are no more mentions of Tolomeo until 1292, when the Roman Provincial Chapter meeting in Rome appointed him lector at San Romano.²¹² A month and a half earlier on 4 April 1292 Pope Nicholas IV died, and at the time of the chapter the papal conclave had been meeting in Rome for over a month. The brothers must have hoped for an election while they were there, but in fact the conclave dissolved in the summer and did not reassemble for over a year. The vacancy lasted for over two years. Most of the recent vacancies had been lengthy, but all of them were much shorter than this one, which was characterized by an intensification of the long-standing fierce rivalry between the Orsini and Colonna factions in the Curia. The result was a scandal to the church.

Schmeidler concludes that Tolomeo left Lucca sometime in 1293, since there is a sudden lack of exact detail about Luccan affairs in *Annales* following a period of unusual precision that began in the 1288 entry, and since Tolomeo describes the earthquakes in southern Italy of 1293, where we can place him with certainty in 1294.²¹³ This case once again shows us the limitations of Schmeidler's method, despite its appeal, since there are two documents, apparently unknown to Schmeidler, proving that Tolomeo was in Lucca in December 1293. The first, drawn up at the monastery of San Silvestro in Guamo near Lucca on 12 December, names 'Brother Tolomeo' and others as executors to the will of a certain usurer, Transmondino, son of Baldinotti Burlamacchi, who among other bequests

²⁰⁹ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 246–47.

²¹⁰ I could not find the document, but Panella cites it as Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Notarile 28, 10.1.1291, in 'Livio in Tolomeo da Lucca', *Studi Petrarcheschi*, 6 (1989), 43–52 (p. 49). 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 116, cites a document from 19.2.1291, which may be the same document.

²¹¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Recuperate, thirteenth century, n.d. Although the archivist in Lucca claimed to be able to make out 'coram fratre Tholomeo Fiadonis', I was able to see only 'coram fratre Tholomeo'.

²¹² *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Rome, 1292, p. 106: 'Ponimus lectors: in conventu Lucano frater Tholomeus Lucanus'.

²¹³ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xiv.

left 1500 lire in restitution for his sin.²¹⁴ Though it is conceivable that Tolomeo was not present when this document was issued, there is no doubt about the second, from 24 December, in which ‘Brother Tolomeo of the convent of Friars Preachers of Lucca’ and others witnessed a settlement concerning the will of the late dyer Vannelli.²¹⁵ Most likely Tolomeo heard about the devastation in the valley of ‘Buiano’ (*Annales*) or ‘Bivano’ (*Historia ecclesiastica nova*) — probably the town of Boiano, originally the Roman colony of Bovianum, about forty miles distant from Naples at the foot of Montematese in the Beneventan Apennines — when he arrived in the south a few months later.²¹⁶

Tolomeo erroneously reported that Charles II of Naples visited Lucca in 1293, and this convinced Schmeidler that Tolomeo could not have been in Lucca that year. The trip must have taken place in early spring 1294, since in March Charles travelled to the deadlocked papal election conclave, which had reassembled in Perugia in October 1293, to urge, unsuccessfully, the election of a pope, and, in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, Tolomeo says that Charles was in Lucca before Perugia: ‘Thence he went to Perugia to ask the college for the creation of a supreme pontiff [...] but not succeeding, he came to the Kingdom’.²¹⁷ The detail that Tolomeo gives of Charles’s reception in Lucca in the *Annales* is specific enough that Schmeidler would ordinarily have used it as evidence that Tolomeo was there. In fact, it is one of his most vivid descriptions in that work. He reports how the citizens of Lucca, both knights and *popolo*, went out to meet the king: ‘on their part the *popolo* with the flags of their societies, with splendid clothing; and so great a feast was made as had never been heard of in Tuscany, as much in the dancing of the women as of the men as much in the banquets as in the other dances suggestive of a festival and feast’.²¹⁸ The error must be a slip, unless Tolomeo was

²¹⁴ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Burlsmacchi, 12.12.1293. Tolomeo, as well as Jacob Passarini, OFP, another executor, also appeared as witness to an attached codicil, dated by the archives as 6.4.1300, though I cannot make out the date.

²¹⁵ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Archivio dei Notari, 24.12.1293.

²¹⁶ *Annales*, 1293, p. 225: ‘Eodem anno fuerunt terremotus per diversa loco, nam versus Neapolim et precipue in valle de Buiano, ubi ruerunt multe ville et castra, multeque persone ex hoc ibidem perierunt’. Almost the same words appear in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.28, col. 1198: ‘in Italia multi fuerunt terremotus, sed maxime versus Neapolim, in valle videlicet de Bivano, quia ruerunt castra et ville, et multe persone perierunt ibidem’.

²¹⁷ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.18, col. 1199: ‘Inde vadit Perusium ad rogandum collegium pro creatione summi pontificis [...]. Non proficiens audem, venet in regnum.’

²¹⁸ *Annales*, 1293, pp. 225–26: ‘Eadem anno rex Karulus transivit per Lucam veniens de Provincia cum regina et omnibus liberis suis, exieruntque eis obviam cives Lucani, per se milites

uncharacteristically using the Florentine or other calendar that started the new year later than the 1 January celebrated in Lucca. There is no good reason to doubt that Tolomeo was in Lucca for Charles's visit, and he may even have accompanied his entourage to the Kingdom of Naples, in time for the events he describes later in 1294. In any case, Tolomeo's journey prompted his most extensive personal testimony in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* or *Annales*.

A letter from the pious Abruzzian hermit Pietro da Morrone to Latino Malabranca, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, received on 5 July 1294, and warning of God's wrath should the cardinals not quickly resolve their impasse, accomplished what the plea of Charles II could not. Immediately, the conclave elected the unsophisticated and unlearned Pietro as pope, which he accepted under the name of Celestine V. Tolomeo gives an eyewitness account of Celestine and his coronation in Aquila, the chief city of Abruzzi on 29 August 1294:

He was much devoted to King Charles, lived in a certain cave, was a man of exceptional abstinence and prayer, entirely consecrated to God. Therefore, when the decree was received, at the insistence of the King, and of his familiars and of the whole region, he accepted the papacy, he came into Aquila, where he then established his see, and there he was consecrated and crowned; and at that coronation there were more than two hundred thousand people, and I was among them.²¹⁹

We know that Tolomeo remained in Aquila, and near the Curia, for some time, since he continued to report Celestine's actions from firsthand knowledge: 'So many came to him there from towns and castles that it was amazing to see, because more came to him to get his blessing than to acquire a prebend. Whence it was necessary for him to come to the window often to bless the people, overcome by their calls. I also saw this, and I was present when they did that.'²²⁰

astiludendo, per se autem populus cum vexiliis societatum, cum vestibus splendidis; tantumque festum factum est, quale in Tuscia nunquam fuit auditum, tam in coreis dominarum quam etiam virorum, tam etiam in conviviis quam aliis tripudiis insinuatibus sollepnitatis et festi.'

²¹⁹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.29, col. 1199: 'Hic Regi Carlo multum devotus, in quodam saxo suum habuit habitaculum, vire maxime abstinentie et orationis, totus deo consecratus. Recepto igitur decreto, ad instantiam regis et suorum, ac totius regionis papatum recepit, venitque Aquilam, ubi tunc fixit sedem, ibidemque consecratur et coronatur; fueruntque in sua coronatione plusquam 200 millia hominum, et ego interfui.' Tolomeo gives a similar account in *Annales*, 1294, p. 228.

²²⁰ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.31, col. 1200: 'Tantus autem ibidem fuit concurius ad ipsum de villis et castris, quod stupor erat videre, quia ipsi magis veniebant ad suam obtinendam benedictionem quam pro prebende acquisitione. Unde oportebat eum sapius ad fenestram accedere ad benedictionem populum, victus ipsorum clamoribus: quod et ego vidi et presens sui, quando ista fiebant.'

A few months later, Tolomeo witnessed the end of Celestine's papacy, after the Curia had moved to Naples. A throng of supporters, including Tolomeo, marched to the Pope's residence to beg him not to resign:

Meanwhile, as they report, King Charles ordained with Celestine (which did not please the College of Cardinals) that the Curia be transferred to Naples. Going there, therefore, some cardinals stirred up many to ask that he should cede the papacy, because the Roman Church was in peril and was confounded under him. The holy father was agitated by these incitements. When the King, together with the clergy, had carefully considered this, the King ordered a procession to be made from the main church to the King's castle, and I was in among that procession, in which many bishops of the region, all religious, and the whole clergy convened. And when the procession had arrived at the said castle, where the supreme pontiff was staying, we clamoured in the accustomed fashion for his blessing. To show his reverence for the procession, he came to the window with three bishops. After the blessing was given, one bishop of the procession asked for an audience with the Pope, speaking on behalf of the King and of the whole kingdom, both the clergy and the people, and with me present, supplicating him humbly in the place and name of all those mentioned, in a deep and trumpeting voice, which the whole procession below in the courtyard and the Pope above in the window heard: seeing that he was the glory of the said kingdom, no persuasion should make him consent to resignation. In response, one of the bishops who was with him answered, on the Pope's order, that he did not intend to do this unless something else should happen that would urge his conscience to it. Then the said Bishop, speaking on behalf of the King and kingdom, began to sing the 'Te Deum Laudamus' in a deep voice, and all the procession joined in until the end. And thence they returned to their own place. This was, as it seems to me, around the feast of St Nicholas.²²¹

²²¹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.32, cols 1200–01: 'Interim autem Rex Carolus, ut tradunt, ordinavit cum Caelestino, quod sine beneplacito collegii factum est, quod curia transferretur Neapolim. Vadens igitur illuc, multum stimulatur ab aliquibus cardinalibus, quod papatui cedat, quia ecclesia romana sub ipso perclitabatur et sub eo confundebatur; quibus stimulis concitatur sanctus pater. Quod cum perpendisset rex, et cleris, mandat fieri processionem a majori ecclesia usque ad regis castrum, cui processioni ego interfui, ubi convenerunt multi episcopi regionis, omnes religiosi, et totus cleris. Cumque pervenisset processio ad dictum castrum, ubi summus pontifex morabatur, acclamavimus more solito pro benedictione. Ipse vero pro reverentia processionis ad fenestram accesit cum tribus episcopis. Data igitur benedictione, unus episcopus processionis predicte a sancto pontifice audentiam petit, loquens in persona regis et totius regni quantum ad clerum et populum, et me presente, supplicans humiliter eidem vice et nomine predictorum omnium, voce altissima et tubali, quam processio tota audivit inferius in platea papa autem superius in fenestra: quatenus cum ipse esset gloria dicti regni, nulla persuasione ad resignandum consentiret. Ad quae verba ex mandato papae unus de episcopis, qui cum eo erant, respondit, quod non intendebat, nisi aliud appareret, unde conscientia urgeretur. Tunc dictus episcopus prolocutor pro rege et regno alte incipit Te Deum Laudamus; et tota processio ipsum prosequitur usque ad finem. Et sic inde ad propria redeunt: quod fuit quidem, ut mihi, constat, circa festum beati Nicolai.' See also *Annales*, 1294, pp. 229–30, where Tolomeo also mentions being in the procession, but made no other personal statements.

The feast of St Nicholas is 6 December, and on 13 December Celestine resigned, although Tolomeo got the date wrong, giving it both as ‘near to Christmas’ and ‘19 December or thereabout’.²²² If he was the author of the continuation of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* he also got the year of the resignation wrong there, where it is given as 1295. Celestine’s resignation and Boniface VIII’s subsequent election spawned an avalanche of tracts defending or rejecting the legality of a pope stepping down from his God-given position. The Spiritual Franciscans, whom Celestine had favoured after years of conflict with earlier popes, and French enemies of Boniface VIII were especially eager to portray Celestine as illegally deposed and Boniface VIII as an antipope. There is no reason to think that Tolomeo, despite his affection for Celestine, doubted that he was within his rights to resign, but the continuation of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* notes that when Pope Clement V canonized Celestine in 1313 under the name ‘Peter the Confessor’ after a long inquisition into his life and miracles, he was giving his official endorsement to the resignation by being unwilling to call him St Celestine.²²³

There is no conclusive evidence to explain Tolomeo’s travels to the south. The General Chapter that year was in the opposite direction, in Montpelier, and once in the south he did not seem to be attached to any church, school, or monastery; instead we find him always near the new pope, first in Aquila, then in Naples. On the other hand, he did not seem actually to be in the Curia, since he participated in a procession to it. He was very favourably disposed to Celestine, and he begged him not to resign, even though he, like most observers, came to understand how Celestine’s age and simplicity made him act incompetently and left him susceptible to manipulation by shrewd cardinals, like Benedict Gaetani, who would succeed as Pope Boniface VIII after Celestine’s resignation. Looking at these facts in the context of his departure for the south at about the same time as Charles II, just after the latter’s visit both to Lucca and the electoral conclave in Perugia, it is hard not to think that there is some connection. Also suggestive is that the Cardinal of Ostia, Latino Malabranca, to whom Pietro da Morrone wrote, was a fellow Dominican, and we learn from Tolomeo’s praise of him in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* that he had been an admirer of Pietro for a long time,²²⁴ and from *Annales* that Tolomeo was aware of Latino’s instrumental role

²²² *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.33, col. 1201: ‘prope natale domini papatui cedat’; XXIV.34, col. 1202A: ‘Sedit autem Celestinus a 6 Kal. Julii usque ad 19 diem vel circa Decembri’.

²²³ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1313, col. 1240.

²²⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.30, cols 1199–1201.

in procuring Celestine V's election.²²⁵ The Cardinal likely had known Tolomeo for a number of years, at least in the course of his attempts on several occasions, dating from the late 1270s, to make peace among the factions in Tuscany. Charles himself visited Pietro on his way back to Naples and asked the hermit to write to protest the politically deadlocked conclave.²²⁶ This suggests as a plausible scenario in which Tolomeo went with Charles to Perugia on behalf of Latino, who asked him to accompany Charles on the mission to Pietro. Perhaps he even took a draft of the letter to the malleable hermit, since a diplomat like Latino would have been unlikely to leave the wording of such an important document to such a simple man.

It is odd that Tolomeo would make such errors in recording the date of Celestine's resignation, considering his deep involvement with that pope's troubled papacy; perhaps he had already begun his return to the north (although this would not explain the second error), since we know he was back in Lucca by 6 February 1295 at the latest. According to a document of that day, Tolomeo was once again Prior of San Romano, for the second confirmed time. Perhaps his apparently sudden departure from Naples stemmed from his election. In the February document Bishop Paganello de Porcari of Lucca assigned the execution of wills, which apparently had been a burden to Tolomeo, as well as wills that specified only the Prior of San Romano as executor, which now became Tolomeo's responsibility, jointly to Tolomeo and another Dominican of San Romano, Brother Marcho. Many documents from the next few years survive in which Tolomeo acted as executor of wills, but this is the only indication that this had already become common for him. As the document points out, the Bishop made this assignment 'on account of the many legitimate impediments that the said Brother Prior has that compel him to defer the execution' of the wills. Marcho was presumably a brother who had no administrative duties but who must have shown a talent for financial matters, since he also was executor in his own right for several wills. In the same document Bishop Paganello also assigned the execution of other wills to him, although he too apparently had in the past 'many infirmities and various occupations which he has had up to now' that prevented him from executing wills assigned to him.²²⁷ The problem in all these

²²⁵ *Annales*, 1294, pp. 227, 229.

²²⁶ *The Papacy*, I, 280.

²²⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 6.2.1295: 'propter multa impedita legi ipsima que habet dictus frater Tholomeus prior propter que cogitur executionem differre'; 'propter multas infirmitates et occupationes varias quas hactenus habuit'. There is a

cases, as the document states, is that under law wills had to be executed within a year, after which the duty of execution would pass to the bishop, and this is what Paganello was trying to avoid: ‘And, therefore, the said lord bishop declares by this public instrument that no command should prejudice something from being done by the said prior or Brother Marcho because of a time limit passing.’²²⁸

Tolomeo was not unusual in having a number of wills to manage. Clergy and monks had long been favourite choices for this service for many reasons. As Duane Osheim points out, ‘It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of this role’. Heirs hoped that such persons would be honest agents above the fray of family disputes and self-interested parties who might undermine the testators’ wishes, as well as ensure the adherence to conditions imposed on wives and children. As in so many other matters, the mendicants, who at first were reluctant to dirty their hands with pecuniary matters, eventually — by the second half of the thirteenth century — became very much involved, and as a result became themselves the beneficiaries of much larger and more frequent bequests. By the end of the century mendicants had become the most important source of executors.²²⁹

On 22 February 1295, only two weeks after Bishop Paganello drew up the previously cited document, Tolomeo benefited, both personally and as prior, from a bequest. Moabilia, the executor and trustee of the will of her husband, a Luccan notary, declared that ‘for the soul of her said husband Scolario, she distributes and dispenses 150 pounds to the convent of Priors Preachers of Lucca for the work of their church, except that she wants brothers [*sic*] Tolomeo and Brother Bartolomeo da Segromigno of the said order to have ten pounds for all and each of their necessities, namely each of them should have five pounds of denarii’. Later in the document Moabilia repeats her bequest to Tolomeo for the church and

transcription of this document in *Miscellanea*, ed. Baluze and Mansi, IV, 605–06; as mentioned above, its title gives the date, incorrectly, as 1285. Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 259–61, also transcribes it. Brother ‘Marchus de Luca’ is mentioned in two documents that list brothers of San Romano: Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 16.1.1285 and 27.8.1288; it is unknown whether he is the same Brother ‘Marcus’ found in other capitular listings in documents from the same archive, 2.7.1261 and 27.2.1279. See ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, Appendix, pp. 370–71.

²²⁸ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 6.2.1295: ‘Ideoque predictus dominus episcopus, declaravit hoc publico instrumento, in nullo dicto priori vel fratri marcho predicto, ex preteritione temporis preiudicium aliquod generari.’ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 60 n. 3, citing Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, claims that there was another document referring to Tolomeo as prior from 25 February 1295, but neither I nor other recent scholars like Panella could find such a document, and it probably was a misidentification of the 6 February document.

²²⁹ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, pp. 9–10, 39.

himself, and mentions that he was present when the act was sworn at San Romano.²³⁰ Another will, of 21 April 1295, of Lady Bandeccha, left money to San Romano, and some specifically to Brother Marcho, but it does not mention Tolomeo.²³¹

On 3 July 1295, Tolomeo witnessed a document in which a certain Filippo turned over to Countess Capoana a sum of money owed to her, together with the income of a farm for which Fillipo had previously paid one thousand lire.²³² This is the first of a series of seven documents, stretching over sixteen years to 1311, that involved both Tolomeo and Countess Capoana. As this and other documents state, Capoana was the widow of Count Ugolino della Gherardesca da Pisa (or ‘di Donoratico’) and the daughter of Rainieri da Panigo. She received a monastic education in Lucca at the monastery dei Colli.²³³ In the 1250s she married a nobleman, Lazzaro Lanfranchi Ghirardini of Lucca, with whom she had several children. Widowed around 1270, she married Ugolino after 1275 and had several more children. Though Taurisano believed she was born around 1230, this would put her in her late forties when she had her second set of children. Although this is possible, it seems more likely that she was born a few years later.²³⁴

²³⁰ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 22.2.1295. The document is transcribed in di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 261–62: ‘libras centum quinquaginta, distribuit et dispensat pro anima dicti sui viri Scolarii, conventui fratrum predicatorum de Luca, pro opera Ecclesiae eorum, excepti quod vult fratres Tholomeum et fratrem Bartholomeum de Subgrominio dicti ordinis habere libras decem, in eorum et cuiusque eorum necessitate scilicet quisque eorum, libras quinque denariorum.’ Bartolomeo de Segromigno is mentioned in five documents that listed brothers of San Romano: Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 7.11.1298, 3.2.1301 (now missing), 12.4.1307, 5.5.1307, and 2.12.1314. See ‘Cronaca’ del convento di *S. Romano*, ed. Verde and Corsi, Appendix, pp. 373–74. Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 60 n. 3, claims incorrectly that this document established Tolomeo as executor of the will of ‘a certain Guido Caldovillani’. I am not sure how Taurisano made this error, but Guido Caldovillani was the notary who drew up this document, and he was also present when Tolomeo presented Pope Nicholas IV’s bull of 22 September 1288 to the Archdeacon in the Hospital of San Marco on 30 October 1288; see above.

²³¹ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 262–63.

²³² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 3.7.1295.

²³³ Several documents pertain to her early life. Two wills of 1243 and 1244 have bequests to ‘Lady Capoana’, and a will of 1257 left money to Capoana personally, as well as to ‘the ladies of dei Colli who lived or used to live with Lady Capoana, once a sister of the said monastery’. See Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 191, and di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, pp. 96–101, for the full will of 1257.

²³⁴ For biographical details and documentary evidence about Capoana, see Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 194–202. See also the document transcribed in di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, which was not available to Taurisano.

There has been some controversy about this, but it seems certain that this Ugolino is the one immortalized by Dante as gnawing on the head of his fellow Pisan, Archbishop Ruggieri, in the section of the innermost circle of hell reserved for those who were treacherous to their city, which for Dante is one of the supreme sins.²³⁵ Originally head of the Pisan Ghibellines, Ugolino was banished because of his alliance in the early 1270s with his brother-in-law, Giovanni Visconti, judge of Gallura, a leading Guelph. He then conspired with the Guelph cities and returned home after a disadvantageous truce was forced on Pisa. He became *podestà* and captain of the *popolo* after the disastrous sea Battle of Meloria against Genoa in 1284 and other successes of the Florence-Lucca-Genoa alliance had left Pisa and Arezzo as the only northern Italian Ghibelline cities.²³⁶

Ugolino's rule in Pisa encountered many difficulties, including the opposition of the bitter Pisan Ghibellines and an inability to reach satisfactory accords with the other cities. He was forced to share power with Nino Visconti, son of Giovanni, who had died after his arrest at the time Ugolino was exiled, but they subsequently fell out. He then turned to the head of the Ghibellines, Archbishop Ruggieri, but Ugolino's attempt to grab all the power for himself led to his downfall and death in 1289. These were the years in which Tolomeo organized the General Chapter and first served as prior, and he reports the events in *Annales*:

In the same year [1287] discord arose in Pisa between the judge of Gallura [son of Giovanni] and Count Ugolino because of evil advisors and false suggestions coming from different directions; and then Lord Ganus Scornisianus was killed; and then word spread throughout the city of Pisa that the family of Count Ugolino had done this; whence the city began to be torn apart in its government and the Ghibelline Party became audacious, as events later proved [...]. AD 1288. Count Ugolino was captured by the Pisans [...]. Therefore, the said count was captured and with two sons, Gaddo and Brigata, and one nephew, namely Henrico, was placed in prison, and there, after being extorted for money for a long time, they perished from hunger and labour of the prison.²³⁷

Today, a plaque in Pisa marks the site of the prison where Ugolino died.

²³⁵ The arguments are reviewed by Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 198–203. See Dante, *Inferno*, Canto 33.

²³⁶ Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, pp. 97–98.

²³⁷ *Annales*, 1287–88, pp. 213–15: ‘Eodem anno exorta es discordia Pisis inter iudicem Gallure et comitem Ugolinum ex malis consiliariis et falsis suggestionibus hinc inde porrectis, et tunc dominus Ganus Scornisianus fuit occisus; et vox tunc cucurrit per civitatem Pisarum, quod familia comitis Ugolini hoc fecisset; unde civitas lacerari in regime et pars Gebellina assumit audaciam, sicut rei postea probari eventus [...]. Anno Domini 1288. Comes Ugolinus capitulatur a Pisanis [...]. Captus est igitur comes predictus cum duobus filiis Gaddo et Brigata et uno nepote, videlicet

Capoana found herself hard-pressed to maintain her life and property in Pisa after her husband's death. In response to her complaint that the '*podestà*, captain, *anziani*, council and commune of the Pisans' were attacking her 'homes, lands, possessions, and things', Boniface VIII came to her defence with a letter dated 13 February 1295, ordering the Abbot of San Frediano in Pistoia to threaten ecclesiastical sanctions if they did not cease to molest her.²³⁸ At some point Capoana fled back to Lucca, her native city, with her children, presumably by the 3 July date when to our knowledge Tolomeo was first involved in her affairs. In his letter Boniface referred to her as a 'crucesignata' (widow), and sometime between then and 27 August 1297 at the latest, when a legal document lists it as her residence,²³⁹ she had come to live as a *conversa* within the property of San Romano.

She was only one of several women we know of during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries who lived there in this capacity. Then, if not earlier, she became close to Tolomeo, and she named him with others to execute her will, although the will itself is no longer extant. The year of her death is also uncertain. Traditionally it was given as 1307 or 1308, but Taurisano has argued that it had to be closer to 1300. He sets the latest possibility as December 1306, since on 26 December a new *conversa*, Agnese VolPELLI, entered San Romano and the document establishing her there mentions the presence of another countess, widow of the late Nicolai Brancasecche, but not Capoana, whom Taurisano felt would certainly be included had she still lived there.²⁴⁰

Whenever Capoana died, she was buried in San Romano. Until the recent renovation began, one could see pieces of her tombstone outside the church in a pile of rubble. One hopes that these have now been restored to the church floor, though already in 1909–10, when Brother Taurisano tried to explore Capoana's

Henrico, ponuntur in carcere ibidemque post longum pecuniarum extorsionem fame atque labore carceris pereunt.' Brigata and Henrico were not the son and nephew of Ugolino, and it is odd that Tolomeo should have made such an error, since he was so close to Capoana (see *Annales*, p. 213 nn. 5, 6).

²³⁸ Edited in Giovanni Sforza, *Dante e i Pisani*, 2nd edn (Pisa: Valenti 1873), Appendix, pp. 159–60.

²³⁹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 28.8.1297: 'Actum Luce, super solario domus quam suprascripta domina Comitissa habitat in vicinia Fratrum Predicorum de Luca.' Ibid., 29.8.1297: 'ad domus et apothecam domus, quam dicta domina Comitissa habitat, iuxta locum ecclesie fratrum, in vicinia Fratrum Predicorum de Luca.' These texts are edited in Sforza, *Dante e I Pisani*, pp. 161, 164. See also 11.1.1299: 'Domina Capoana comitissa relicita quondam Ugolini de Pisis qui Luce moratur in contrata sancti Romani.'

²⁴⁰ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 194.

tomb, he found that previous ‘restorations’ had removed or destroyed most artefacts of importance, and even the inscription was mostly effaced. Although we cannot be sure of the complete original text, Taurisano argues persuasively that it should read: ‘Here lies Lady Capoana, Countess, wife of Lord Count Ugolino di Donoratico and daughter of Count Reinieri da Panigo AD MCC [...]. On the Day [...].’ Part of the confusion about her death year may come from an earlier misreading of the tomb inscription.²⁴¹ Capoana’s effigy appeared on the coffin; most likely she was depicted in the habit of a Dominican tertiary, as both the 1525 chronicler Ignazio Manardi (also known as Manandro) and the eighteenth-century Federico Vincenzo di Poggio reported, although Pèleo Bacci in the early twentieth century suggested that she was simply wearing the white robes of a widow.²⁴²

We have no records that mention Tolomeo for 1296, but there are several for 1297. The first, a document of 11 August 1297, refers to ‘Tholomeus Fiadonis OFP, Prior of the convent of Lucca’.²⁴³ In it Tolomeo, together with Brother Ugo de’ Borgognoni, lector of San Romano, and Amato, rector of the Hospice of San Iacobo of Altopascio of the Luccan diocese, who were executors and trustee of the will of the late archbishop Ruffino of Milan of 22 September 1294, appointed

²⁴¹ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 185–87: ‘Hic Jacet Domina Capuana Comitissa uxor Domini Comitis Ugolini de Donoratico et filia Comitis Reinerii de Panigo A.D. MCCC [...] Die [...].’ Taurisano refutes di Poggio, Baroni, and following them, Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 14, each of whom reported a variation of the following: ‘Lady Capoana, countess, wife of Lord Ugolino di Donoratico and sister of count Renerio, together with Lady Beatrice and Lord Maghinardo, children of the said Capoana. AD 1308’ (Domina Capuana Comitissa uxor domini Ugolini de Donoratico et filia comitis Renerii una cum domina Beatrice et domino Maghinardo filiis dicte Capuana A.D. MCCCVIII). Taurisano, citing some arguments of Mancini, effectively contested this, though not the truth of the text; it is, as Taurisano quoted Mancini, ‘formally false, but substantially true’. I was not able to see what has been done for myself inside San Romano when I was there in 2005, because it is now closed except for occasional concerts and special occasions, and no one I asked had any information or had ever heard of the Countess.

²⁴² Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 187–90, reviews the various arguments and strongly supports the view that she wore Dominican robes. See ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 18, and Federico Vincenzo di Poggio (1715–1810), *Memorie della religione domenicana nella nazione lucchese illustri e commendabili*, Archivio del Convento Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, Fondo PR, F. IV, 40, who also supported the theory that Capoana was the wife of the Ugolino who died in 1289: ‘Quae uxor fuerat comitis Ugolini, inedia extincti, quae sepulta fuit cum habitu ordinis nostri in ecclesia nostra ante portam, prope campanile.’ See Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 189, for a depiction of her tomb.

²⁴³ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 11.8.1297: ‘Tholomeus Fiadonis de ordine fratrem predicatorum prior conventus Luce’.

agents to carry out the business of the will. The sixteenth-century *Chronicle of San Romano* discusses this will, mentioning that Ruffino committed to the prior and lector of San Romano and the rector of the Hospice of Altaspasio (who were the executors, not the specific individuals named above) the election of the rector of the Hospice of St Margarita near Fucecchio.²⁴⁴

There is no indication as to whether Tolomeo was prior for an uninterrupted period from at least February 1295 until August 1297 or had a year off in the middle. Though it is scarcely unheard of for someone to have several separate terms as prior, as Tolomeo himself did, it is rather unlikely, especially lacking any indications of intervening priors, that the same person would be prior several times within such a short period.²⁴⁵ The next document we have, a decree of the Provincial Chapter in Perugia in September 1297 which punished Tolomeo for an infraction, raises the question of when his last term ended:

On Tolomeo and the brothers of the Luccan convent who counselled him that he should permit there to be a feast with meat for a certain new Luccan knight in the Luccan convent, we enjoin seven days on bread and water. Moreover, the prior or his vicar should compel them to make the said penance.²⁴⁶

Taurisano speculates that this knight was likely to have been Matteo della Gherardesca, son of Count Ugolino and Countess Capoana.²⁴⁷ Tolomeo must have been prior at the time of the feast, but the fact that he is not called 'prior' in this document, as well as the injunction to the prior to enforce the penance, suggest to Taurisano that he was no longer prior. The chapter's injunction could mean simply that as prior Tolomeo was responsible for enforcing penances, but it is certain that Tolomeo was no longer prior by early October. Three documents involving Capoana that Tolomeo, among others, witnessed — from 8, 9, and 19

²⁴⁴ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 5, fol. 9^v. The Hospice of Altaspasio was situated on the Via Francigena, south-east of Lucca in the direction of Florence. It had existed since at least the eleventh century and was likely run by Augustinian monks. See Ephraim Emerton, 'Altaspasio — A Forgotten Order', *American Historical Review*, 29 (1923), 1–23 (pp. 5, 10).

²⁴⁵ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 209, lists Ugo de' Borgognoni as prior from 1291 between Tolomeo's two terms as prior, but *Cronaca* and modern analyses do not support this.

²⁴⁶ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Perugia, 1297, p. 127: 'Fr. P[t]holomeo et fratribus Lucani conventus qui ei consulerunt quod convivium cum carnibus pro quodam milite novo Lucano fieri in conventu Lucano permitteret, vii dies in pane et aqua iniungimus. Prior autem vel eius vicarius ad faciendam dictam penitentiam cogat eosdem.'

²⁴⁷ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 62.

October — refer to him simply as ‘Brother Tholomeo’.²⁴⁸ In itself this is not decisive, since we have encountered another reference of this kind when Tolomeo was definitely prior,²⁴⁹ but the first two of these also separately report the presence of the unnamed prior of San Romano. None of the many documents of 1298 that mention Tolomeo identify him as prior, and a capitulary of 7 November 1298, which includes Tolomeo, identifies Ugo, son of Uberto (de’ Borgognoni), as prior.²⁵⁰ It may well be that the Perugian Chapter of 1297 absolved Tolomeo from the priorate, perhaps for his offence, though there is no mention of any absolutions in the minutes (a not uncommon omission in chapter minutes). Suggestively, the second item following the penance imposed on Tolomeo is the following injunction: ‘We wish that the priors absolved in the present chapter in no way be elected this year in the same convents to the same office.’²⁵¹ In early 1298, two documents record bequests of Brother Tederico, Bishop of Cervia, near Ravenna, who was to die in December of the same year, to San Romano and to Tolomeo. One, dated 26 March and edited by Baluze and Mansi, is only an excerpt and does not mention Tolomeo; the other, not previously cited, is dated 18 March.²⁵² Except for the date, the edited portion of the former is identical to the latter. Both documents were drawn up in Bologna by the notary Johannes Damiani in the Bishop’s home and provided for the purchase of property for 1197 pounds of Bolognese money, one-ninth of the annual proceeds of which would go to San Romano after Tederico’s death. He further enjoined that the Prior of San Romano give annually to Brothers ‘Tholomeo, Guglielmo Catrignelli, Opizo de Avocatis, Bonaccorso Vespa and Iacobo Scandaleonis forty soldi [damaged] each for their clothing and other necessities’, and that they should be assured of this income whether they were living in San Romano or elsewhere.²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 8, 9, 19.10.1297.

²⁴⁹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 3.7.1295.

²⁵⁰ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 7.11.1298.

²⁵¹ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Perugia, 1297, p. 127: ‘Volumus etiam quod priores absoluti in presenti capitulo hoc anno in eisdem conventibus ad idem officium nullatenus eligantur.’

²⁵² *Miscellanea*, ed. Baluze and Mansi, IV, 607–09; Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 18.3.1298.

²⁵³ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 18.3.1298: ‘annuatim fratribus Tholomeo Guillielmo Catrignella Oppizoni de Avocatis Bonacursio Vespa et Jacobo Scandaleonis quadraginta soldi [damaged] cuilibet eorum pro vestibus et aliis necessitatibus suis ita quod sive fuerint de conventu lucano sive de alio nicholominus semper sibi vel suo certo nuntio ad hoc ab ipsis speciale [damaged].’

Two pairs of documents, the first in 1298, the other in 1299, show that Tolomeo's family was also involved with the Countess Capoana. In the first pair (24 June and 3 September 1298), Tolomeo's kinsman Homodeo first purchased and then sold to Capoana rights in the estate of one 'Maghinardo, son of the late Lazzaro'. Another Lazzaro, son of the late Lazzaro de Fondora, sold his rights in this estate to Homodeo for the sum of 268 pounds of Luccan money, and Homodeo then resold them to Capoana for the same amount.²⁵⁴ This Maghinardo is Capoana's own son from her first marriage to Lazzaro, and this whole action was no doubt geared toward settling the debts of her son, who from various evidence seems to have acquired many.²⁵⁵ This was also the purpose of the second pair of documents (8 July and 19 November 1299). In this case Homodeo once again bought rights against Capoana's son's estate, this time from Lemmo, son of the late Marcovaldi Mordecastelli, and others represented by Lemmo, and then sold them to her.²⁵⁶ Tolomeo witnessed all of these documents, with the exception of the one of July 1299, and he also witnessed three separate acts promulgated in a single document of 11 January 1299, in which Capoana acquired two pieces of land and leased out one of them for ten years.²⁵⁷ Considering Capoana's relationship to Tolomeo and San Romano, it seems likely that Tolomeo enlisted the help of his brother to further Capoana's interests in these matters.

According to Karl Krüger, Tolomeo served as a mediator in 1298 with Ricomo de Bulgarini of the order of epicurean knights, the Cavalieri Gaudenti, but I have not been able to obtain his source to confirm this.²⁵⁸

From 1299 through 1303 Tolomeo took part in, or was present for, several important meetings of the Dominican order. In early 1299 Nicholas of Treviso, Master General of the Dominican order, resigned his post to become Cardinal

²⁵⁴ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 24.6.1298; 3.9.1298.

²⁵⁵ For Capoana's initial involvement with her son's estate, its inventory, and his creditors, see Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 27–28.8.1297 and 8–9.10.1297, ed. in Sforza, *Dante e i Pisani*, pp. 160–74.

²⁵⁶ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 19.11.1299. There is a Maghinardo, who along with Matteo, was admitted to Bolognese citizenship in 1296 (Archivio di Stato di Bologna Provincioni, 1296, fol. 324^v), and both are called 'nephews of Count Ugolino of Panico', Capoana's brother, but Taurisano *Domenicani*, p. 193, argues that obviously he could not receive citizenship two years after his death, and that this was in fact another Maghinardo, the son of Capoana's son Lazzaro from her first marriage.

²⁵⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 11.1.1299.

²⁵⁸ Krüger, *Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, p. 13, citing Domenico Maria Federici, *Istoria de' Cavalieri Gaudenti*, 2 vols (Venice: Coletti, 1787), I, 243, and a document from *Codex diplomaticus*, II, 163.

Bishop of Ostia. Two results of this were that the General Chapter of that year did not meet and that the provincial chapters nominated electors to choose a new master general at the General Chapter of 1300. Although Taurisano has implied that Tolomeo was one of these electors,²⁵⁹ this was not the case. The 1300 Chapter originally was to be of the kind held two out of three years, in which a *diffinitor* of the General Chapter would be elected from each of the then thirteen provinces to represent it, together with the *diffinitor's socius* to assist him. However, since this general chapter was to be an electoral one, the provincial prior would also attend, and he would be an elector along with two additional electors chosen by the Provincial Chapter, who could, or could not, be the same as the *diffinitor* and *socius*.²⁶⁰ The Roman province met in Pistoia, probably opening on 29 June 1299,²⁶¹ and elected Tolomeo *diffinitor* and Simone Salterelli as his *socius*, and Nicholas, lector of Santa Maria Novella, and Cinzius Romanus as electors of the master.²⁶² Lucca loomed large that year, since the chapter also elected Ugo de' Borgognoni of San Romano as provincial prior and Lazzaro of Lucca, the long-standing subprior of San Romano, as his *socius*, to accompany him to the General Chapter.²⁶³

The following spring these six brothers were to travel north to Marseille, where the General Chapter opened on 28 May, the Saturday before Pentecost, but from a marginal notation to the record we know that Ugo was not among the nine provincial priors who took part in the election. On the other hand, we do know that Brother Cinzius was there, since an entry in the record of the 1301 General Chapter mentions that he had died on his way home from the election.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 63.

²⁶⁰ See Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, pp. 85–110, and especially pp. 94–95 for the working of the General Chapter and the process of electing a new master.

²⁶¹ C. Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères prêcheurs* (Paris: Picard, 1884) gives this date without a source and Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, p. 264, is unable to confirm it.

²⁶² *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Pistoia, 1299 p. 135: 'Diffinitor Capituli Generalis frater Tolomeus, cui assignamus in socium frater Symonem Saltarelli. Electores magistri frater Nicholaus lector Florintinus et frater Cinzius Romanus.'

²⁶³ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Pistoia, 1299, p. 136: 'In isto capitulo fuit electus in prior provinciale frater Ugo Lucanus'; p. 135. 'Socius prior provincialis euntis ad capitulo generale frater Lazarus Lucanus.'

²⁶⁴ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Cologne, 1301, I, 310: 'frater Nycholaus Salmantinus [...] et frater Sincius Romanus elector magistri ordinis in precedentis capitulo Massiliensi, pro Romana provincia, precede ti anno mortui sunt in via in reditu.'

According to the Dominican constitution the electors were to be locked up in a conference room on the first day and not allowed food until they had come to a decision. Election of a master required only a majority vote of those present. Since only twenty-nine of the potential thirty-nine electors attended, including nine of the thirteen provincial priors, the majority in this case was fifteen. There was some dissatisfaction with the election, since Cardinal Nicholas sent a letter urging the election of Albert of Genoa, and the electors apparently thought that this was an intrusion by outsiders. Although Nicholas was a prominent Dominican, he was not an elector and possibly would have been perceived as acting on behalf of Boniface VIII. As a result, the first ballot failed to produce a majority, but on the second ballot, Albert, who was himself an elector taking part in the election, prevailed by a still-split vote.²⁶⁵

Most modern scholars assume that Tolomeo was present for the legislative chapter that followed the election, but there is no proof for this, and the possibility exists that he was not there at all, if, for example, he was travelling with Prior Ugo and encountered a delay that prevented them both from attending. However, reports about the next provincial chapter suggest that he did fulfil his duties acceptably. As *diffinitor* of the General Chapter, Tolomeo would have been expected to be present at this chapter to give an account of his activities. In 1300 it was held in Orvieto and was scheduled in the minutes of the 1299 Chapter to begin on the feast of Mary Magdalene (i.e., on 22 July).²⁶⁶ According to the *Chronicle of San Romano*, Tolomeo was elected as one of the Provincial *diffinitors* at this chapter, though there is no contemporary verification of this.²⁶⁷ Each chapter elected four *diffinitors*, probably the evening before the official opening of the chapter, and they, together with the provincial prior, conducted most of the important business of the chapter, eventually bringing the proposed official acts of the chapter back to the whole for approval, while deciding some administrative matters on their own authority.²⁶⁸ Although some chapter records, such as the 1299 one in Pistoia, list the *diffinitors*,²⁶⁹ others, such as this one, do not.

²⁶⁵ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Marseille, 1300, I, 294; Fratris Galuagni de la Flamma, *Cronica ordinis praedicatorum ab anno 1170 usque ad 1333*, ed. by Benedictus Maria Reichert, *Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica*, 2 (Rome: Typographia polyglotta, 1897), p. 103.

²⁶⁶ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Pistoia, 1299, p. 135.

²⁶⁷ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 11 (fol. 14^v): 'Fuit autem deffinitio capituli provincialis 1300 in Urbe Veteri [i.e., Orvieto] et 1303 Spoleto'.

²⁶⁸ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, pp. 69–85.

²⁶⁹ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Pistoia, 1299, p. 136.

Shortly after this chapter, on 27 August, the newly elected master, Albert, died, which meant that there would be yet another election at the next General Chapter. It also meant that since the Roman Chapter had already met, it could not choose new electors, and therefore followed the procedure for this laid out in the constitution of the order for this eventuality. Since this chapter was to consist of provincial priors, as it did every third year, the other two electors were defined as the two senior *diffinitors* of the previous Provincial Chapter. Thus, Tolomeo would possibly have become one of the electors, and if the San Romano chronicle is correct this is what happened, although, since he had been *diffinitor* of the previous General Chapter, it would be the other *diffinitor*, not he, who would join the prior in the legislative chapter that followed the election.²⁷⁰

In 1300 Tolomeo is mentioned in three legal documents. On 17 February, he, acting on his own behalf and that of Gerardo de Porcari, Tolomeo certified his action concerning the bequest of ten lire in the will of the late Luccan bishop Paganello de Porcari.²⁷¹ On 6 April he witnessed a codicil to the will of Transmondino, son of Baldinotti Burlamacchi. This document was attached to the original parchment will of 12 December 1293, which, as mentioned above, named Tolomeo and others as executors.²⁷² Finally, on 30 September, another document drawn up in the nearby town of Guamo was again concerned with Transmondino's will, but Tolomeo was represented by a procurator, and was not present.²⁷³

Probably in late summer 1300, but no later than the first half of 1301, Tolomeo was elected to be Prior of Santa Maria Novella, the Dominican house in Florence (the other Florentine Dominican convent, San Marco, was not founded until 1436). The Florentine prior on 7 February 1300 was Simone Salterelli, Tolomeo's *socius* for the Marseille General Chapter, and, from the legal documents just cited we know that Tolomeo was in Lucca, at least through April 1300. By 3 February 1301 Simone had moved to Lucca, and he is mentioned as lector at San Romano in a lost capitulary of that date and another of 6 April.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, pp. 94–95.

²⁷¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 17.2.1300.

²⁷² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Burlamacchi, 12.12.1293. Tolomeo, as well as Jacob Passarini, OFP, another executor, also appears as witness. I could not make out the 1300 date.

²⁷³ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Burlamacchi, 30.9.1300.

²⁷⁴ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 327; cited in 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, Appendix, p. 373: 'Simon lector'. Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 6.4.1301: 'Frater Simonem Saltarelli de Florentia lectorem conventus fratrum predicatorum de

Since lectors were appointed by the Provincial Chapter, the Orvieto Chapter, which began on 22 July 1300, must have absolved Simone of the Florentine priorate and sent him as lector to Lucca, and Tolomeo must have been elected sometime after this. Most likely it was shortly after this, since an intervening prior is improbable, especially since Tolomeo was already prior before the next Provincial Chapter. This may be one reason Tolomeo used a procurator in matters concerning Transmondino's will in Lucca in September 1300. However, the first definite mention of his new position appears in a Florentine legal document dated 14 August 1301.²⁷⁵

Like San Romano throughout Tolomeo's residence, Santa Maria Novella was under construction. It was much further from completion than San Romano, since work on the Gothic replacement for the original tenth-century or thereabouts building had begun only in 1278 and was not completed until the mid-fourteenth century. The magnificent Renaissance facade we see today was added much later, designed by Leon Battista Alberti in the mid-fifteenth century. Many of the other buildings we associate with Florence were also under construction at the time of his priorate, including the Duomo (begun in 1296), the Palazzo della Signoria (begun in 1298), Santa Croce (begun in 1295), as well as the greatly expanded city walls (begun in 1299).

Presumably Tolomeo was prior of Santa Maria Novella at the time of the General Chapter of 1301, which opened in Cologne on the Saturday before Pentecost, 20 May. As was customary, the electors, possibly including Tolomeo, met that very day, and on the second ballot, by eighteen out of twenty-nine votes, elected as master Brother Bernard de Jusix, Provincial Prior of Provence, and an elector in both 1300 and 1301. In contrast to 1300, this time the marginal notes to the record added that after the scrutiny all brothers, as was the usual practice, concurred in the election.²⁷⁶ Tolomeo's presence depends on the accuracy of the

Luca'. Although the first reference is not specific, it seems clear that it was the same person clearly named two months later.

²⁷⁵ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Santa Maria Novella, 11.8.1301: 'frater Bartolomeus de Luca ordinis fratrum predicatorum necnon prior capituli et conventus fratrum predicatorum de Florentia'. As mentioned above, the document was filed under 11 August, when the first part, which was about the same matter, but did not involve Tolomeo, had been sworn. Despite the different name, we know that this was Tolomeo because of other documents of around this time, to be cited shortly.

²⁷⁶ *Acta capitularium generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Cologne, 1301, I, 301 n. 3: 'In isto capitulo fuit electus in magistrum ordinis frater B. de Iuzico, tunc existens prior provincialis Provincie, cum esset 29 numero electores in secundo scrutinio fuit a 18 electoribus nominatus. Ceterisque omnibus consencentibus in eam.'

chronicle, which Antoine Dondaine questions, suggesting that the chronicler, writing centuries later, confused the two successive master elections, since he was not aware of Tolomeo's assignment to the 1300 Marseille Chapter by the 1299 Provincial Chapter. Participation in three successive general chapters (1300, 1301, and, as we will see, 1302) would have been unlikely.²⁷⁷ But it would not have been impossible, and if the chronicler was preserving any memory of Tolomeo's participation in an election, it would have had to be the one at Cologne, since he was not an elector at Marseille. Schmeidler has argued that Tolomeo's knowledge of the German monetary situation could only have come from his trip to Cologne. This is somewhat dubious because Tolomeo simply says that travellers there need to take gold and silver with them to trade because the exchange rate for other currencies was bad. He could have heard about this from many sources, either from fellow mendicants or from others in the commercial crossroads of Florence or Lucca, but it is interesting that he includes this observation in a book that he wrote shortly after a possible trip to Germany.²⁷⁸

If Tolomeo had been at Cologne, he once again would have been expected to appear at the Provincial Chapter as provincial *diffinitor* and elector. In 1301 this opened in Todi on 14 September, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which became the common date for the next few years, and once again Tolomeo, identified as the Florentine prior, was chosen *diffinitor* of the General Chapter, this time with Transmundo of Orvieto, prior of the Roman convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, as his *socius*.²⁷⁹

Two Florentine legal documents of August 1301 mention Tolomeo. On 14 August, Tolomeo, on behalf of the brothers of Santa Maria Novella, acknowledged receipt of the bequest of the late Cisti dei Carini, the execution of whose will on 11 August formed the first part of a parchment sheet of which this document was the second part, witnessed among others by Remigio dei Girolami.²⁸⁰ Three days later, on 17 August, the notary Paulo di Cambio, acting as procurator for Tolomeo and two others, executors of the will of Lord Schiatta degli Abati, leased some land that had belonged to the late noble.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 167 n. 49.

²⁷⁸ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xxxi n. 2; *De regimine principum*, II.13.13.

²⁷⁹ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, p. 142: 'Diffinitor capituli generalis frater Ptholomeus prior Florentinus, cui assignamus in socium frater Transmundus priorem Minerve, Urbevetanum.'

²⁸⁰ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Santa Maria Novella, 11.8.1301.

²⁸¹ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Santa Maria Novella, 17.8.1301.

Tolomeo's Florentine experience and the many significant events of those years were crucial to the content and emphasis of *De regimine principum*, which he wrote while in Florence or immediately afterward. It is by far his most original and radical work and the one most enthusiastic about republican government and hostile to monarchy. It is surely no coincidence that his Florentine years were ones filled with crises and civic turmoil in northern Italy — specifically in both Florence and Lucca — which threatened the peace, independence, and freedom of these cities. Nor could it be coincidental that he wrote *De regimine principum* during or shortly after a period of daily contact with Brother Remigio, whose own work privileged the common good and the good of the commune above all else,²⁸² something that had been missing in Tolomeo's earlier work, despite his contact with Thomas Aquinas. These years were especially tense, but they occurred in the midst of a period of instability that witnessed the increasing success of despotisms in many cities. 'By 1300', Philip Jones writes, 'all communal Italy, in a sort of chain reaction, was becoming poised in Dante's words between tyranny and freedom.'²⁸³ Seen in this context, Tolomeo's sudden outpouring of political advocacy is more understandable.

In his *Annales*, Tolomeo often bemoans the consequences of the division of the Guelphs into Black and White factions, and goes into detail about the intra-family discord in Pistoia that originally spawned it. He links two separate deadly incidents in Pistoia with earthquakes there, and of the parties writes that 'all evils arose under those names [...] which persevere to today', and through them 'all Tuscany was placed in scissure'.²⁸⁴ In both Lucca and Florence the Black/White disputes came to a head at this time, a bit earlier in Lucca than in Florence. As I mentioned previously, the two parties in Lucca — the Blacks, led by the Obizi and Bernarducci, and the Whites, led by the Mordecastelli, Ciapparoni, and Interminelli — emerged from an even earlier family feud. The dating is in dispute, but the sequence of events is not. On 1 January 1301 (although Tolomeo lists the date as 1300), Bacciomeo Ciapparoni and Bonuccio Interminelli murdered Obizo degli Obizi, setting off the final showdown. Tolomeo describes the events:

²⁸² Remigio returned to Florence from his studies in Paris sometime between the end of the academic year 1300 and the August 1301 document cited above. See Emilio Panella, 'Nuova cronologia remigiana', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 60 (1979), 145–311; available electronically at <<http://emilioweb.t35.com/remigio2/re1200.htm>> [accessed June 2008].

²⁸³ Jones, *Italian City-State*, p. 520.

²⁸⁴ *Annales*, 1286, pp. 209–10; 1289, p. 219; 1295, p. 231.

In the same year on the calends of January on the occasion of the death of Lord Judge Obizo of the Obizi of Lucca an excitation and disturbance was made in Lucca; whence many evils arose there, and immoderate schisms, and the Interminelli and their followers were exiled [...]. In the same year the Pistoians who were called Whites, expelled the Blacks and burned their homes. When the latter came to Lucca, with the support of some Luccan citizens, they burned the homes of the Interminelli.²⁸⁵

Late 1301 and early 1302 were the times of greatest turmoil in Florence. With the encouragement of Pope Boniface VIII, Charles of Valois entered Tuscany in support of the Black Guelphs. On Sunday, 5 November 1301, the Florentine priors, *podestà*, bishop, and other officials reluctantly welcomed him to the city at Santa Maria Novella and granted him all secular authority in the city. Remigio dei Girolami, with Tolomeo doubtless in the audience, preached on Psalm 44: ‘Gird your sword upon your thigh, most potent one’, in which he urged Charles to use his power for peace.²⁸⁶ Yet on the evening of the same day, the gates were opened to the banished Blacks, and a massive persecution and then exile of the Whites, including Dante, began. Tolomeo describes these events in an almost apocalyptic tone, but does not mention the actual exile of the Whites:

In the same year in September a comet appeared in the west in the sign of Scorpio, which is the home of Mars, which sometimes emitted a tail to the east, sometimes to the north; and this was after the arrival of Charles, brother of the King of France in Tuscany and it lasted for a month. Moreover, they report that there was another that had appeared in the east at the same time, but I did not see it [...]. In the same year the said Lord Charles came to Florence, and then the exiles returned to Florence, and there was a great commotion there and a plundering of spoils and burning of homes in the city and county, such as there had not been in all the time in which the Guelphs and Ghibellines existed in Florence.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ *Annales*, 1300, pp. 236–37: ‘Eodem anno in kalendis Ianuarii occasione mortis domini Opiconis iudicis de Opiconibus de Luca facta est concitatio et turbatio in civitate Luce; unde multa mala sunt exorta ibidem, et scismata non modica, et confinati sunt Anterminelli cum eorum sequacibus [...] Eodem anno Pistiorienses, qui Albi dicebantur, expulerunt Nigros et combusserunt eorum domos; qui venientes Lucam cum favore aliquorum civium Lucanorum combusserunt domos Anterminellorum.’ Modern opinion favours 1301. Tolomeo should know, since he was in Lucca in at least early 1300 and gone by early 1301. But Green, *Castruccio Castracani*, p. 25 n. 50, proves strong evidence favouring 1301. The only way both could be right is if Tolomeo were using the Florentine dating system in this case instead of the Luccan one, which is possible but unlikely.

²⁸⁶ The sermon can be found in G. Salvadori and V. Federici, ‘I sermoni d’occasione, le sequenze e i ritmi di Remigio Girolami fiorentino’, in *Scritti vari di filologia*, ed. by Ernesto Monaci (Rome: Forzani, 1901), pp. 455–508.

²⁸⁷ *Annales*, 1301, pp. 237–38: ‘Eodem anno in Septembri apparuit cometa in occidente in signo scorpionis, qui est domus Martis, qui aliquando emittebat comam ad orientem, aliquando

Charles left Florence by mid-April 1302 to pursue his original goal of fighting for French claims in Naples and Sicily, but by then the damage had been done and the new Florentine rulers, under Corso Donati — for Dino Compagni the greatest scourge of the *popolo* — presided over a decade of increased factionalism and violence.

As prior, Tolomeo would have been present for the entry to the city of the new bishop, Lotterio della Tossa, on 24 February, and would have been a key participant in the great procession welcoming him. Included were many government and guild officials, the canons of the cathedral, other clergy, and representatives of the various monasteries and mendicant convents, and musicians. Presumably a huge crowd of Florentines observed the procession, anxious for a glimpse of their new bishop, who rode through the town on horseback in splendid attire and with much pomp from the Porta San Pietro Gattolino through the city to a traditional lunch at the monastery of San Pier Maggiore. Tolomeo would not have attended that feast (in fact the Bishop got in trouble for bringing along some of the cathedral canons), so he would not have seen the celebration there of the unusual and bizarre but traditional ‘marriage’ of the Florentine bishop to the abbess, though everyone must have been talking about it.²⁸⁸

Remarkably, Tolomeo does not mention these events in *Annales*. Instead, he reports in detail on another event that took place in the same month, a volcanic eruption that destroyed the island of Ischia, near Naples:

In February a fire was generated by virtue of sulphurs and of winds evaporated from the island of Ischia [near Naples], which ascended upon the air with terrestrial matter and poured itself over the village and burned it; and a great darkness was made over the whole region and the sea was filled with stones burned and consumed with terrestrial substance, which are called pumice stones, floating over the water by reason of their holes, which contain air, and on account of the consumption of earthly material in them; and ashes were made in such great multitude and quantity that their heaps seemed like mountains and they spread themselves over the sea for two hundred miles.²⁸⁹

ad meridiem: ut hoc fuit post adventum domini Karoli fratris regis Francie in Tuscia et duravit per mensem. Ferunt autem alium apparuisse in oriente in eodem tempore, set ego non vidi [...] Eodem anno dictus dominus Karolus venit Florentiam, et tunc confinati redierunt Florentiam, et facta est ibidem magna commotio et spoliorum direptio et domorum combustio in civitate et comitatu, qualis non fuit a tempore, quo Guelfi et Ghibellini Florentiae fuerunt.'

²⁸⁸ Maureen C. Miller, ‘Why the Bishop of Florence Had to Get Married’, *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 1055–91 (pp. 1055–57).

²⁸⁹ *Annales*, 1302, pp. 238–39: ‘In Februario ignis virtute sulphuris et ventorum evaporavit de insula Ischie, qui ascendit super aerem cum materia terestri effuditque se super vilam et combussit eam; factaque ext magna nebulostas per totam regionem et mare et repletum est lapidibus combustis

In itself his description would not be significant, but it is quite unique: it is by far the most vivid and longest depiction of any natural event in the whole work. In conjunction with his omission of the episcopal procession, this could suggest, although this is very slim evidence, that he may have had personal experience of the eruption and that he had left Florence for a time for unknown reasons in early 1302.

The General Chapter of 1302 was scheduled to meet at Pentecost, 10 June, in Bologna; presumably Tolomeo attended as *diffinitor*, though he is not mentioned by name or priorate in the records of that chapter.²⁹⁰ In particular, he is not mentioned as having been absolved from his priorate, though we know that by late in 1302 he was back at San Romano. Most likely he was absolved by the Provincial Chapter that met in Perugia beginning 22 July 1302, though its absolutions are not mentioned by convent or name in the published records of this chapter,²⁹¹ and was elected prior of San Romano again shortly thereafter. Taurisano mentions a document in the Luccan archives, no longer listed there, of 4 November 1302 that refers to Tolomeo as prior of San Romano.²⁹² The modern editors of the *Chronicle of San Romano* cite this document, as well as a lost capitular list of 30 November 1302 that includes ‘Tholomaeus Fiadonis’ as prior.²⁹³ Taurisano claims that Tolomeo was prior by September, but gives no source.²⁹⁴

In 1303, possibly for the first time in several years, Tolomeo was not an official at the General Chapter, which began on 26 May in Besançon. However, the chapter assigned a task to him:

Concerning certain things falsely imputed to Brother Ugo, provincial prior of the Roman province and to certain other brothers of our order, we appoint as vicars and inquisitors Brother Tolomeo, Luccan prior, and Brother Nicholas Bramaso of Perugia, formerly provincial of the Kingdom of Sicily, giving them full power and entrusting them to seek out the full truth of these matters in the suitable places and convents, and that they should

et consumptis terrestri substantia, quos pumices vocant super aquam natantes ractione suorum foraminum, qui aerem continent, et propter consumptionem terrestris materie in ipsis; factique sunt cineres in tanta multitudine et quantitate quod eorum acervi quasi montes videbantur diffuderuntque se super mare ad ducenta miliaria.’

²⁹⁰ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Bologna, 1302, I, 311–17.

²⁹¹ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Perugia, 1302, p. 144.

²⁹² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 4.11.1302, reported in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 63 n. 2.

²⁹³ ‘Cronaca’ del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 118, Appendix, p. 373. The capitular list comes from di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 333.

²⁹⁴ Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 63.

thus harshly punish any prelates or lay people whatsoever they discover to have sinned according to the exigencies of their guilt, that they should be an example for others in perpetuity.²⁹⁵

Nothing else is known about this investigation or its results. Despite the wording of the mission and the appointment of someone close to Ugo to investigate him, which leave no doubt that the chapter believed the charges to be false, Ugo was absolved of the provincial priorate, which he had held since 1299, at the next General Chapter, which opened on 17 May 1304 in Toulouse.²⁹⁶

Whatever the result of the enquiry, the clergy of Lucca entrusted Tolomeo, still prior of San Romano, and Ugo, still Roman provincial prior, and three others with a joint mission to Pope Benedict XI in December 1303. Sometime before he died on 11 October, Boniface VIII had apparently put Lucca under an interdict for paying taxes to the city government without his approval. Now all the Luccan clergy, who appended their names to what thus became a very long document approving Tolomeo's trip, sought relief and authorized their agents to negotiate an appropriate penance.²⁹⁷ Interestingly, I have been unable to uncover any more information about this interdict, either in the primary sources or in the various histories of Lucca. This is perhaps because interdicts had become so frequent in the communes that by the late thirteenth century they had become largely ineffective and ignored.²⁹⁸ The *Chronicle of San Romano*, for example, does not mention the interdict, but it does mention that a little earlier that year Tolomeo was elected as one of the Provincial *diffinitors* at the 1303 Chapter, which began on September 8 in Spoleto, although there is no contemporary verification of this.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Besançon, 1303, I, 322: 'Super quibusdam falso impositis fratri Hugoni priori provinciali Romane provincie, et quibusdam aliis fratribus nostri ordinis ponimus vicarios et inquisitores fratrem Tolomeum priorem Lucanum et fratrem Nycholaum Bramasii Perusinum, quandam provinciale regni Cicilie, dantes eisdem plenariam potestatem et commitentes quod in locis et conventibus opportunis inquirant super premissis plenariam veritatem, et quouscumque prelatos et subditos invenerint delinquisse, secundum exigenciam culparum sic aciter puniant, quod sint ceteris perpetuo in exemplum.'

²⁹⁶ *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, Toulouse, 1304, II, 6. Taurisano Domenicani, p. 63, says that the investigation was entirely favourable to Ugo, but he offers no sources for this.

²⁹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, Tarpea, 5.12.1303.

²⁹⁸ Jones, *Italian City-State*, pp. 423–24, 426.

²⁹⁹ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 11 (fol. 14^v): 'Fuit autem deffinitor capituli provincialis 1300 in Urbe Veteri [i.e., Orvieto] et 1303 Spoleto'.

For unknown reasons Tolomeo (at least in the surviving manuscripts) ended *Annales* in mid-1303. The short entry for that year ends before the death of Pope Boniface VIII and reports only on events before 13 April when the Pope excommunicated the French king. The rest of the entry continues with the endless series of factional disputes. In early 1303 the Florentines and Luccans defeated the Florentine Whites and Ghibellines at Mugello and decapitated a number of their opponents. Tolomeo bemoans the loss of what he called ‘nine of the best of the Whites, both Guelphs and Ghibellines’,³⁰⁰ probably at least in part because these executions marked the first official death sentences against Whites (as opposed to Ghibellines), who for years had been subject merely to exile and confiscation. Afterwards, as the Florentine White Dino Compagni puts it, Florentines hopeful of peace ‘lost their hope [...] until that day no blood had been shed which would have prevented peace in the city’.³⁰¹ I mention these events because Tolomeo rarely expressed himself in such a despairing manner, writing of ‘enormities’ and ‘evils’. If the book had been composed as the events happened instead of several years later, one might conclude that he simply could not endure reporting any more of the endless violence. Later that year the situation became so unstable in Florence, with increased factionalism and a rebellious *popolani* irate at the price of grain in a famine year, that the city, now dominated by the *popolani*, called in the Luccans and turned over the governance of the city to them. Early the next year, on 16 February, sixteen Luccans assumed formal power. On 26 April crowds of citizens and representatives of the various factions poured into the piazza in front of Santa Maria Novella and swore eternal peace; a cardinal representing Pope Benedict negotiated the terms and drew up the agreement, though as one with Ghibelline roots he raised some suspicion. Many rejoiced, but within weeks it had all broken down once again and the Cardinal was put to flight. Soon after Florence and Lucca carried on with their war against Pistoia.³⁰²

After having been so noticeable for four years, there is almost no trace of Tolomeo’s activities during the next few years. Presumably he remained at San Romano, writing the *Annales* among other things. By the end of the Roman Provincial Chapter meeting in 1304 in Castello, which opened on 14 September, he was no longer prior; the acts of that chapter absolved the Luccan prior, presum-

³⁰⁰ *Annales*, 1303, pp. 241–42. The burial of those executed took place on 25 January.

³⁰¹ *Dino Compagni’s Chronicle of Florence*, trans., with and intro. and notes, by Daniel E. Boornstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1986), p. 56.

³⁰² Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, p. 101.

ably Tolomeo, though he is not named.³⁰³ It is not certain who his immediate successor was; two capitularies of 1307 list Tolomeo as a brother in San Romano and Opizo de Avocatis as prior. The chronicle says that Opizo had held this office since 1306, and this is confirmed by a legal document of 26 December 1306 in which Agnese Volpelli, the widow of an important Luccan businessman — whose connection to Tolomeo we will discuss later — became a *conversa* and handed her property over to San Romano.³⁰⁴ Opizo could not have been Tolomeo's immediate successor, since the Provincial Chapter of 1305, meeting in Riete from 14 September on, also absolved the Luccan prior.³⁰⁵ Most likely the intermediate prior was Paolo Ricciardi, whom Taurisano — but no contemporary source I found — lists as prior in 1305, although he incorrectly says he was a Florentine, not a Luccan.³⁰⁶

Tolomeo apparently was present for the election of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Michele in Guamo in early November 1306.³⁰⁷ He next appears in three documents of 1307. One, of 12 April, is a capitulary, which merely lists Tolomeo as one of the brothers at San Romano who consented to Prior Opizo's selection of Brother Stefano Melunensis as their procurator and special nuncio.³⁰⁸ The second, of 5 May, now lost, is another capitulary, again merely listing Tolomeo as a brother.³⁰⁹ The third, of 7 April, is more substantial and includes a commission issued to Tolomeo and a Brother Prosper by the Provincial Prior, Pietro da Orvieto, at the Roman Provincial Chapter of 1306, held in Siena, beginning on 14 September:

³⁰³ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Castello, 1304, p. 150.

³⁰⁴ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 7, Appendix, p. 374; Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 26.12.1306.

³⁰⁵ *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Riete, 1305, p. 154.

³⁰⁶ Taurisano Domenicani, p. 209; for the error, see 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 124 n. 56.

³⁰⁷ I have not seen the documentation, but the incident is reported by the reliable scholar Duane Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 172, who cites Archivio Arcivescovile di Lucca, Diplomatico, +H 75 (1306) and Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, S. Michele di Guamo, 1, fol. 29v.

³⁰⁸ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 12.4.1307; see also 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 7, Appendix, p. 374.

³⁰⁹ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 7, Appendix, p. 374, citing di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 359, who in turn cites Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 5.5.1307.

To my beloved brothers in Christ Tolomeo and Prosper, Brother Peter, unworthy provincial prior of the Friars Preachers of the Roman Province, eternal health in the Lord. Since for the utility and convenience of the brothers of our order the Luccan brothers intend to make a hostel and provide hospitality in the valley of Nievole, so that the said hospitality may be of profit, I commit to you my full authority to concede borders to the said Luccan convent that you may be able to provide how much the said hostel should extend itself. Given in Siena in our provincial chapter celebrated AD 1306.³¹⁰

According to a Luccan document, Tolomeo and Prosper ruled as follows:

Therefore, we, wanting to provide concerning that commission for the consolation of the brothers passing through the said valley and from Lucca to Pistoia, and from Pistoia to Lucca, from the authority committed to us we thus ordain, will, and provide that the preaching, or the boundaries of preaching, of the brothers of Lucca should extend inclusively and integrally up to the said hostel of San Marco, which is near the town of Montecatini, where the said hospitality ought to be, having reserved for the brothers of Pistoia Maona, Montecatino, Montesummano, and Montevettolini, as they were accustomed to have in the past. But it should have this place, since the Luccan brothers began to exercise their office of hospitality in the said hostel. In testimony of which matter and of the said confirmation, the said provincial prior brought his seal to be placed on the present things.³¹¹

Apparently, there had been a jurisdictional dispute between the two Dominican houses, which began when the Luccan brothers built a hostel in or near what was formerly thought to be Pistoian territory. Finding an amicable solution was

³¹⁰ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 7.4.1307: ‘Dilectis in christo fratribus Ptolomeo et Prospero frater Petrus prior provincialis FP Romane Provincie licet indigus, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quia pro utilitate et commoditate fratrum Ordinis nostri fratres Lucani in Valle Nebule hospitale et hospitalitatem facere procurare intendant, ut dicta hospitalitas possit proficere, vobis commicto plenarie vices meas ut de terminis [but looks like deterius to me] concedendis dicto Lucano conventui providere possitis quantum dictum hospitale seu hospitalitas se extendit. Datum Senis in nostro provinciali capitulo celebrato anno Domini 1306.’

³¹¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 7.4.1307: ‘Nos igitur voluntes super hac providere commissione ad consolationem fratrum transeuntium per dictum vallem et de Luca Pistorium et de Pistorio Lucam, ex auctoritate nobis commissa sic ordinamus volumus et providemus quod predicatione fratrum de Luca sive predicationis termini usque ad hospitale dictum Sancti Marchi, quod est prope burgum Montis Catini ubi dicta hospitalitas fieri debere, inclusive et integraliter se extendant, reservatis fratribus de Pistorio Maona, Monte Catino, Monte Summano, Monte Vettolini, ut antiquitus soliti erant habere. Hoc autem locum habeat cum fratres de Luca in dicto hospitali hospitalitatis officium ceperint exercere. In cuius rei testimonium et confirmationis predicte, prior provincialis predictus sigillum suum duxerit presentibus apponere.’ The Prior’s seal does not appear on the document in the Luccan archives, making it likely to be a copy of a now-lost original.

delegated to a brother from each house. The commission does not appear in the record of the Sienese Provincial Chapter, but we know of Brother Prosper from the record of another provincial chapter, that of Spoleto in 1291, where the chapter ‘commits the care of the Pistoian convent to Brother Prosper of Pistoia’.³¹² Even though giving them the commission did not necessarily mean that Tolomeo and Prosper were present at the chapter, it is probable. Each convent sent two representatives to a provincial chapter: the conventual prior and an elected representative,³¹³ and the most likely scenario is that the provincial prior chose the two representatives who were present.

The early years of the fourteenth century brought Lucca to the height of its power as a Guelph city, and relative external peace, but internally a new and bitter round of class warfare emerged. By 1308 the popular party was completely victorious and the government issued the Statute of the Commune, which cemented the control of the *popolani* and specifically took strong actions to control a long list of named magnates and magnate families.³¹⁴ The continuer of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, most likely Tolomeo himself, does not report this development under 1308, but under 1310 he writes of the ‘great unaccustomed novelties’ there and that these changed the nature of the *popolo* through the exclusion of many from that status.³¹⁵ Probably this did not reflect any particular new development in that year, but rather his recognition of the effects of the statute, which were becoming evident. Many of the great Luccan merchants, who felt themselves increasingly restricted by their social inferiors, left Lucca, taking their possessions and business elsewhere, many of them to Venice. We do not know how, if at all, these developments affected Tolomeo’s family. Though merchants, they were not magnates and certainly were not mentioned by name in the statute. We know that Homodeo Fiadoni was still in Lucca in 1313–14, but that is all. Tolomeo likely regretted the developments more because of the breakdown in Lucca of what had always been a less antagonistic class struggle than typical for northern Italy than because of any personal loss.

It was also in the year 1308 that Pope Clement V announced that the Curia, which had been residing in Potiers, would move to Avignon in January 1309.

³¹² *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae romanae*, Spoleto, 1291, p. 99: ‘curam conventus Pistoriensis committimus frater Prosper Pistoriensis’.

³¹³ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, p. 61.

³¹⁴ Edited in Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca, Documenti*, pp. 16–27; see also Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, pp. 101–08.

³¹⁵ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1310, col. 1232.

There it remained until 1378, and until 1417 for one faction of the Great Schism. The continuer of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* reports Clement's action without comment,³¹⁶ as we would expect, since for him it did not yet represent a 'Babylonian Captivity'; the situation in Rome had rendered that city unsafe for much of the previous few centuries and since 1100 the popes had resided elsewhere 60 per cent of the time. It was not until after Tolomeo's death that Pope Benedict XII in 1335 began the construction of a permanent papal palace in Avignon. Of much more concern to Tolomeo, although he did not take a position for or against them, were the attacks on the Knights Templar by King Philip IV of France, who in 1308 pressured the Pope to acquiesce in his judgement against them. In response Clement called a general council in Vienne for October 1310.³¹⁷

The earliest documents concerning Tolomeo's activities as one of the executors of Countess Capoana's will come from 1309. Although he left Lucca permanently in that year, it is reasonably certain that he was still there at least through 28 June 1309, the date of a letter from Clement V involving both Capoana and Tolomeo. Tolomeo had complained to the Pope about noble interference with his carrying out Capoana's wishes, and the Pope ordered the priest of Castelfiorentino, near Florence, to conduct an enquiry:

Clement bishop, servant of the servants of God. Beloved son. To the priest of the people of Castelfiorentino of the Florentine diocese, health and apostolic blessing. Tolomeo Fiadonis, a brother of the Friars Preachers of Lucca, executor of the will of the late countess Capoana di Donoratico has complained to us that the noblemen Fatius and Nerius, counts of Donoratico, Pisan citizens, injured him concerning certain great monetary possessions and other things concerning which the said countess ordered to be spent by the hand of her executor for pious uses. As a result, the execution of that will, which the said friar took up and prosecuted with the license of his superior, was impeded. Therefore, through apostolic writing, we order your discretion that with the parties brought together you might hear the case, with appeal removed and profit ended, you might decide the proper end making what you decree to be firmly observed by ecclesiastical censure. But if through hate or fear witnesses refuse, you may compel them to give testimony to the truth by a similar censure ending their appeal.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1308, col. 1230.

³¹⁷ Much of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1310–11, is concerned with the Templars.

³¹⁸ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 28.6.1309: 'Clemens episcopus servus servorum dei. Dilecte filio. Plebano plebis de Castro Florentino, Florentine diesesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Conquestus est nobis Tholomeus Fiadonis frater Ordinis Predicatorum Luca executor testamenti quondam Capoane comitis de dompnoratico quod nobiles

We do not know the result of this enquiry, but four months later, in the next document involving Capoana's will, Tolomeo had moved from Lucca to Avignon. Because of this he found it necessary to appoint two former abbots of San Romano, Ugo and Opizo, as representatives to execute the will. The document concerning this also refers to the conflict with Fatius and Nerius and adds a detail about the property in dispute. Tolomeo urged his agents to be vigilant, 'in each and every case with respect to litigations, complaints, and contentions that exist or will exist, and especially to follow up the letter sent to the Roman Curia against Counts Nerius and Fatius of Pisa concerning a farm in a marsh of the said late Lady Countess Capoana, which the said counts occupied and held'.³¹⁹

There has been some unnecessary confusion about the date of this document. This arose because it gave, in addition to the month, day, and year mentioned above, the indiction, as was common in medieval legal documents. Krüger calls attention to the supposed fact that the indiction specified, the eighth, is correct for 1310 not 1309,³²⁰ but he neglects the fact that the imperial indiction, as might well be used by the imperial notary who drew up the document, began

viri Fatius et Nerius comites de Dompnoratico cives Pisani super quibusdam pecuniarum summis possessionibus et rebus aliis quas dicta comitissa ad se spectantes per manus ipsius executoris in pios usus erogari mandavit injuriantur eidem propter quod ipsius testamenti executio quam dictus frater de sui superioris licentia suscepit et prosegitur impeditur. Ideoque discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus partibus convenitis audias causam et appellationem remota usuris cessantibus debito fine decidas faciens quod decrevetis per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observam. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati si se gratia odio vel timore subtraxerint censura simili appellationem cessante compellas veritati testimonium perhibere.' A typographical error in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 192–93 n. 2, gives the date as 1301, though Taurisano actually attributes it to 1308. His misdating to 1308 probably resulted because the document is dated not by year but 'in the fourth year of our pontificate', which since Clement was elected on 5 June 1305 and crowned in November, could make the fourth year 1308, or even 1307. But Clement did not begin dating 'from the first year of our pontificate until the beginning of his first full year, January 1306'. See *Tables des registres de Clément V*, ed. by Robert Fawtier and G. Mollat, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, ser. 2, *Registres des papes du XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Boccard, 1948–57).

³¹⁹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 29.10.1309: 'in omnibus et singulis suis causis litibus et questibus et controversiis que et quas habere vel habiturus est cum omnibus et singulis personis et locis, collegiis, et universitatibus, et specialiter ad exequendum litteras impetas in Romana curia contra comites Nerium et Fatium de Pisis, occasione poderis de padule dicte quondam domine capoane comitisse, quod predicti Comites occupaverunt et occupatum tenent.' Probably the marsh is the Tuscan Padule di Fucecchio (the Fucecchio Marshes), between Florence, Pistoia, and Lucca.

³²⁰ Krüger, *Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, p. 17 n. 22. Other authors simply give the 1309 date but do not mention or explain the alleged inconsistency.

on 24 September, making 29 October 1309 fall within the eighth induction. Similarly, the document of 7 November 1298 cited above was dated in the twelfth induction, although the induction for most of 1298 was the eleventh. If this were not enough confirmation, a document of 3 January 1310, witnessed by Tolomeo's kinsman Homodeo, lists Ugo and Opizo as Tolomeo's representatives for Capoana's will, in which the executors purchased a piece of land from Filippus and Deccius for 362 Luccan pounds.³²¹

Precise dating is important here because the 29 October 1309 document was 'executed in Avignon in the home of Lord Albanese, in which the said Brother Tolomeo is living',³²² and this was the first documentation of a major change in Tolomeo's life that came only a few months after the Curia itself moved to Avignon. Tolomeo continued to live there for the next ten years, much of which time he spent researching and writing *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. Lord Albanese was Cardinal Leonardo Patrasso, Bishop of Albano (Cardinal Albanese), a nephew of Boniface VIII, who had promoted him to the cardinalate in 1300. At the time of the 1305 papal election he was drawn into the party of Napoleone Orsini and became a key vote for Clement V,³²³ whose curia he then joined. Tolomeo probably came to Avignon as the cardinal's chaplain, and he certainly held that position when Albanese wrote his will in 1311, wherein he refers to Tolomeo as 'my chaplain'.³²⁴ However, we know very little about Tolomeo's activities in Avignon or about his previous connection to the Cardinal. Several early modern scholars have asserted that Tolomeo was papal librarian, but there is no evidence whatsoever for this claim, nor for others who said he was confessor to Clement V (1305–14) or John XXII (1316–34). Quétif and Echard were inclined to accept the claim about Tolomeo being librarian, based on his demonstrated knowledge of the papal archives and the hiatus in the list of papal librarians from 1192 to 1316, but this is far from substantial evidence.³²⁵

³²¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 3.1.1310.

³²² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 29.10.1309: 'hoc omnia acta sunt Avinione in domo domini Albanensis in qua moratur dictus frater Tholomeus'.

³²³ Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, trans. by Janet Love (London: Nelson, 1963), p. 4.

³²⁴ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 30.11.1311: 'capillano meo'.

³²⁵ Fernando Ughelli (1595–1670), *Italia sacra sive De episcopis Italiae et insularum adiacentium*, 2nd edn, expanded and emended by Nicolai Coleti, 10 vols (Venice: Sebastian Colet, 1717–21; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1989), v, col. 1394: 'Vaticanae bibliothecae praefectus fuit'; *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Quétif and Echard, p. 541.

The continuation of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* describes in detail, possibly from Tolomeo's personal observation of them, an eclipse of the sun on 31 January and of the moon on 14 February that were both visible in Avignon. The descriptions of events in Avignon and the papal Curia are quite detailed for 1310 and the next years.

There are two documents concerning Tolomeo from 1311, the first one another in the series of transactions concerning Capoana's estate. On 13 January Ugo and Opizo fulfilled the Countess's wish by handing over to the sisters of the convent of the Angels of Lucca the field and vineyard with two houses that Tolomeo's representatives had purchased on 3 January of the previous year.³²⁶ This matter came up again in a document of 6 May 1317, which unfortunately is badly damaged in its first ten lines.³²⁷

The other 1311 document is the will of Tolomeo's patron, Cardinal Albanese, who wrote it in San Romano on 30 November, a week before he died on 6 December. It is not clear if Albanese ever came to the Council of Vienne, which opened in October (Tolomeo says September), since by early November at the latest he was in Tuscany. Clement sent him to Rome as part of a delegation of cardinals to crown the German king Henry VII as emperor, and possibly he stopped in Tuscany as part of a related mission to reconcile the Tuscans to the Emperor. He became ill in Lucca, died, and was buried at San Romano. These missions, Leonardo's participation in them, and his death in Lucca are mentioned in the continuation of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*.³²⁸ In his will the Cardinal named Tolomeo as one of several executors (among the others is Brother Ugo), and also left him a personal bequest of thirty gold florins. A bequest of six gold florins went to 'Brother Martinus, *socius* of the said Brother Tolomeo',³²⁹ although this brother's identity is uncertain. One possibility is the Brother Martinus Benestantis listed in San Romano capitularies on 7 November 1298 and 3 February 1301 (though in no other ones).³³⁰ We can presume that Tolomeo was not present at the death, since he is not listed as witness and since he, Cardinal

³²⁶ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 3.1.1310.

³²⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 6.5.1317.

³²⁸ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1311, cols 1235–36.

³²⁹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 30.11.1311: 'Item relinqu fratri Ptolomei de Luca Ordinis Fratrum Predicotorum, capillano meo, xxx florenos. auri [...]. Item relinqu martin socio dicti fratris Ptolomei sex florenos auri.' The will is transcribed by Baluze and Mansi, *Miscellanea*, IV, 610–17 and in di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, 392–407.

³³⁰ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 7.11.1298 and 3.2.1301.

Francisco, and the papal notary Leonardo were named to execute the will in Avignon, while Brother Ugo and others were to carry out his wishes in Italy.³³¹ The fact that Cardinal Albanese left numerous bequests to San Romano and to individual brothers there suggests a closer relationship to Lucca and its Dominicans than the surviving information on his life can support.

Tolomeo's activities between the death of Albanese in late 1311 and his elevation to the bishopric of Torcello in early 1318 are even more obscure. It seems likely that he remained in Avignon for this period, and the mystery of why he would do this after the death of his patron, combined with John XXII's unusual promotion of him as a very old man, has led to the speculations about his being papal librarian or confessor. More likely, the Pope or some cardinals wanted to patronize the church history that Tolomeo was writing. At some point, perhaps immediately, he found a patron in the person of Guillaume de Peyre de Godin de Bayonne, Cardinal Priest of St Cecilia, and from 1317 Bishop of Sabina, a fellow Dominican. We know this because Tolomeo dedicated his *Historia ecclesiastica nova* to Guillaume, and because Guglielmo di Tocco, who had known Tolomeo at least from the time that they were both students in Naples and who had been chosen preacher general with Tolomeo at the Provincial Chapter at Lucca in 1288, testified to it. In the canonization hearings of Thomas Aquinas in Naples on 4 August 1319 Guglielmo reported that he had heard of two of Thomas's miracles from Tolomeo, 'who is in the Curia with the Lord of Sabina'. When Guglielmo was asked when he had spoken to Tolomeo about these things, he answered: 'in the previous month of August, the first indiction [1318], where he himself was a witness at the Roman Curia'.³³²

Before he became a cardinal sometime in the penultimate week of December 1312,³³³ Guillaume was a professor at the University of Paris and Reader of the

³³¹ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 30.11.1311. See also Krüger, *Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, pp. 17–18.

³³² *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, col. 751; Guglielmo di Tocco, 'Processus canonizationis sancti Thomae Aquinatis, Neapol', §60, in *S. Thomae Aquinatis Vitae Fontes*, p. 289: 'a Fratre Tholomeo, episcopo Torcellanensi, qui est in curia cum Domino Sabinensi [...] audivit predicta a dicto Fratre de mense Augosti proximi praeteriti anni, primae indictionis, quo ipse testis fuit in Curia Romana'. This can also be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, March, I, 706; see also Krüger, *Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, p. 18 n. 2.

³³³ Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 2nd edn, 4 vols (Regensburg: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1913–23), I, 40, and Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 19 n. 2, both list 24 December. Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 161, lists 23 December, but provides no reference. The continuator of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1312, col. 1239, records the creation of nine cardinals including Guillaume, and says that this took place during the Ember Days, which in December

Sacred Palace in the papal Curia, facts mentioned by Tolomeo.³³⁴ He had been an unsuccessful candidate for Dominican master general in May 1312, and it is likely that Clement, who favoured his election,³³⁵ appointed him cardinal as a consolation prize.³³⁶ At the time of Leonardo Patrasso's death, Guillaume had a residence in Avignon, and it seems likely that Tolomeo remained in Leonardo's house for some time after his patron's death to fulfil his duties as executor and was then invited by Guillaume to join his staff, where he remained until he moved to Torcello in 1319.

Historia ecclesiastica nova begins with a dedicatory letter to Guillaume. Although it is not known exactly when this work was published, the oldest fourteenth-century versions of the letter contain the heading reproduced in the defective early modern edition:

Letter which the author directs to Lord Guilhelmo de Bajona, Cardinal Priest of Santa Cecilia, afterwards Bishop of Sabina. To the revered in Christ father Lord Guilhelmo de Bajona, Cardinal Priest of Santa Cecilia, Brother Tolomeo Fiadoni, Order of Friars Preachers, his devoted and faithful subject with all his commitment to compliant will in all things.³³⁷

Both because of the wording and the use of 'afterward', the first part of it is clearly not Tolomeo's original words, but ones added by the scribe at the time the copy was made. Assuming that the second part is Tolomeo's, he must have written the

1312 were later than usual, on 20, 22, and 23 December, since St Lucy's Day (13 December) was on a Wednesday, which by definition set the beginning of the Ember Days at the next Wednesday, 20 December in 1312.

³³⁴ See also François Duchesne, *Histoire de tous les cardinaux français de naissance*, 2 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1660–66), I, 385–87, but this also has a few errors, such as Guillaume's death date.

³³⁵ Bernard Guillemain, *La Cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376): Étude d'une société* (Paris: Boccard, 1962), p. 386.

³³⁶ His elevation to the cardinalate on that date is reported by Bernardo Gui, *Cathalogo brevi romanorum pontificum* and *Flores chronicarum*, and in Almaric de Biterris, *Actus romanorum pontificum*, excerpted in Étienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, ed. by Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1916–28), I, 57, 74, 103. His death on 4 June 1336 was reported in the *Prima vita Benedicti XII*, ibid., I, 202.

³³⁷ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, col. 751: 'Epistola quam auctor dirigit Domino Guilhelmo de Bajona Tituli Sanctae Caecilia presbitero cardinali, postmodum Sabensi episcopo. Reverendo in Christo Patri Domno Guilhelmo de Bajona tituli Sanctae Caecilia presbitero cardinali, Frater Ptholomaeus de Luca Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, eius devotus subditus et fidelis cum omni sui recommendatione ad obsequiosam in omnibus voluntatem.' For the manuscript traditions, see Ludwig Schmugge, 'Zur Überlieferung der *Historia ecclesiastica nova* des Tholomeus von Lucca' *Deutsches Archiv*, 32 (1976), 495–545.

letter between the time Guillaume was made cardinal and 12 September 1317, when he became bishop,³³⁸ since the latter honour is not mentioned in the dedication or body of the letter.³³⁹

There is very little evidence to tell us of any of Tolomeo's other activities during the years he lived in Avignon. *Historia ecclesiastica nova* contains several references to things that he saw in France. Tolomeo reports that in the Archives of St Hilary in Poitiers, 'I discovered that a council of Arians was held in the city of Rome, which was favoured by the emperor Constantius, who had been corrupted by certain of his familiars'.³⁴⁰ And 'I discovered in a certain monastery in Aquitaine' a version of the creed that did not mention the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Son.³⁴¹ There is no way of telling when he visited these places, but it seems most likely that it was during his Avignon period. It is unlikely that he went to those places for historical research, since there are too few references to archives to suggest that he was trying to do intense primary research for his church history, and because, as Krüger long ago pointed out, this was not the general procedure for writing such histories at that time.³⁴² On the other hand, his language at least suggests that he was curious enough to poke around in the libraries and archives of places he visited.

Only six legal documents exist for the period 1313–17 concerning Tolomeo or his family. In 1313 Homodeo Fiadoni bought two pieces of land in Gulliano, near Lucca.³⁴³ The Luccan archives have several documents mentioning Tolomeo in 1314 and 1317, but there is no reason to think that he moved back to Lucca. The documents concern Luccan affairs, but the first one was not drawn up there, and a capitulary of San Romano of 2 December 1314 does not mention him,

³³⁸ Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 38.

³³⁹ Without explaining this explicitly, Minutoli, introduction to *Annales*, p. 19, must have assumed that the second part of the heading was not original either, since he concluded that *Historia ecclesiastica nova* must have been written by December 1312, since Tolomeo does not mention Guillaume as cardinal. But other evidence (see below) suggests that this early date is not likely.

³⁴⁰ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, v.22, col. 834: 'inveni ego in Archiviis dicti Beati Hilarii apud Pictavum, quod Concilium Arrianorum fuit celebratum in Urbe Roma, favente Constantio Imperatore, qui a quibusdam suis familiaribus corruptus erat.'

³⁴¹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, vi.6, col. 842: 'Et nota, quod in quoddam Monasterio Galliae Aquitaniae inveni Symbolum istud sic: "in Spiritum Sanctam Dominum, et vivificantem ex Patre procedentem"; necessary de Filio fiebat mentio.'

³⁴² Krüger, *Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, pp. 18–19.

³⁴³ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Nicolao, 29.12.1313.

although it was drawn up only twenty-one days before the second document involving Tolomeo, which was composed in Lucca.³⁴⁴

The first document, dated 15 July, gives us an important clue as to the activities of Tolomeo in 1314, since it was written in Cardinal Guillaume's house in Carpentras, a town located in the papal territory around Avignon, where the cardinals had, on 1 May, begun the electoral conclave to choose a successor to Clement V, who had died on 20 April. The continuer of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* ends the part of the continuation that Tolomeo may have written with a detailed account of the Pope's gastrointestinal problems that led to his death and mentions that he had discussed his lingering last illness with the Pope's worthy confessor.³⁴⁵ Tolomeo's presence in Carpentras indicates strongly that he had entered Guillaume's service by this date and had accompanied him to the conclave, though not as chaplain, since one of the witnesses, Benedict of Treviso, is listed as such.³⁴⁶ It would not have been unusual for a cardinal to have several chaplains (Leonardo Patrasso for example mentioned several in his will), but in that case surely Tolomeo would also have been so designated.

The document itself mentions that it was written 'with the see vacant because of the death of Pope Clement V of good memory'.³⁴⁷ Clement, a Gascon, had appointed mostly fellow Gascons as cardinals; Guillaume was one of these. After months of haggling between the French and Italian cardinals, most of the Gascon cardinals, presumably including Guillaume, left the conclave and returned to Avignon, threatening to elect a pope on their own. Almost two years passed before the Count of Poitiers, the future Philip V of France, convinced the cardinals to reassemble at Lyon in March 1316, where on 7 August they finally, and under French military coercion, reached a decision and elected as pope Jacques Duèse,

³⁴⁴ 'Cronaca' del convento di S. Romano, ed. Verde and Corsi, p. 7, Appendix, pp. 374–75, citing di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 440, who in turn cites Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 2.12.1314. The whole document, now lost, is edited by Baluze and Mansi, *Miscellanea*, IV, 617–18.

³⁴⁵ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1313, col. 1242. The continuer, cols 1240–41, give another detailed account of the last illness of Emperor Henry VII earlier that year and comment that he had heard this from a worthy source at the court.

³⁴⁶ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 15.7.1314: 'Actum Carpentoratum in domo habitationis reverendi patris domini Guilhelmi Ecclesiae sancte Cecilie presbiteri cardinalis presentibus magistro Benedicto de Trivisio cappellano dicti domini cardinalis et Monaldo quondam Monaldi de Luca clero et familiari eidem domini Guilhelmi cardinalis testibus ad predictam omnia vocatis et rogatis.'

³⁴⁷ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 15.7.1314: 'sede vacante per mortem bone memorie domini clementis papae v'.

Cardinal Bishop of Porto, who took the name John XXII. It seems likely that Tolomeo accompanied his patron back to Avignon in 1314 and possibly went also to Lyon in 1316.

In the document itself Tolomeo appointed Accursus Cascianus of Lucca, a Dominican, and Cione Delforte of Florence as his procurators for the execution of the will of one Labro Volpelli (the Italian form of the Latin name Laber Vulpelli) of Lucca, whose will also was the subject of the second document, of 23 December 1314, and of another dated 23 February 1318. These are significant since Labro was an important man in Lucca. He died long before this; I have already mentioned a document of 26 December 1306 in which Agnese Volpelli (Agnese Vulpelli), the widow of Labro, became a *conversa* at San Romano.³⁴⁸ Labro had been a top official of the Riccardi (or Ricciardi) banking company (*Societas Riccardorum*), which had been a major lender to the kings of England and France and the Pope, until the political situation forced it into bankruptcy in 1301. Labro himself worked for a time in England and had great influence with the English court, though even there he was mostly concerned with the papal court, where he spent much of his time with the company. Edward had employed Labro in many of his dealings with the church hierarchy, and it was through Labro's intervention (for a price) that in 1292 Edward gave the Cluniac monks of Lewes an extension on a large debt. When the crisis exploded in 1294 after Edward I seized the Riccardi assets in England, Philip the Fair of France froze their assets in France, and Boniface VIII made crippling demands on them, it was Labro who went to the Pope, and, throwing himself at his feet, begged for respite and help against the French actions. He was on another mission to lobby the Pope, unsuccessfully this time, when he died on 22 November 1300. On 30 November Boniface ordered the Bishop of Lucca to seize his goods,³⁴⁹ but apparently this order was never completely executed.

³⁴⁸ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 26.12.1306.

³⁴⁹ Richard Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown: The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 15, 29, 232, 240–42. The Boniface VIII document is Vatican Archives, Instrumenta Miscellanea 311, edited by E. Re, 'La compagnia dei Riccardi in Inghilterra e il suo fallimento alla fine del secolo XIII', *Archivio della R. Società Romana di storia patria*, 37 (1914), 87–138 (p. 135), and translated in William Edward Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934; repr. New York: Octagon, 1965), i, 323–24: 'Recently it came to our hearing that the late Labrus Vulpelli, of the society of Riccardi of Lucca, closed his last day. Therefore, since the said Labrus and the aforesaid society were and are debtors to us and the Roman church in large sums of money, we command your fraternity [...] that [...] you take care to take, receive, hold, and keep by our authority, at our

Although we do not know the precise nature of Tolomeo's relationship with Labro, it was apparently close. In his will he named Tolomeo one of his executors and included a donation of eight hundred lire to San Romano 'for the love of God and the affection I have toward Brother Tolomeo', as well as a bequest of ten lire per year to Tolomeo himself. Di Poggio, who reported this, did not have the will in front of him when he was writing, but says that he had seen it at one time among the papers of the lords of Montecatini and that he remembered the cited words about Tolomeo and the bequests. He did not know when Labro died but did remember that the will was dated 1300, that is, shortly before Labro died.³⁵⁰

Di Poggio also discusses another aspect of Labro's will, the desire to be buried in San Romano, for which he left two hundred pounds of small denarii. Di Poggio quotes at length from the parts of this will specifying the details of the tomb, suggesting that he took notes when he saw it and was not relying solely on memory. According to di Poggio, the tomb was built just outside the church along the wall of the north side and he speculates that it was perhaps this lavish monument that inspired the ban, at the General Chapter of 1345, of prominent funerary sculpture in Dominican churches.³⁵¹

The document of 23 December 1314 was drawn up for another executor of Labro, Lazzaro de Fondora, who, as I already reported above, was involved in 1298 in a transaction concerning Capoana.³⁵² He is also mentioned in another document sworn on the same day involving Homodeo Fiadoni and his wife Nuccia (also known as Galliana).³⁵³ The first document is damaged and very difficult to read, but it concerns some land that Labro had purchased from a certain Ugolino

mandate and pleasure, all and each of the movable and immovable goods, with whomever they may be [...] invoking the aid of the secular arm for this.'

³⁵⁰ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 423: 'pro amore Dei et ob dilectionem quam habeo erga fratrem Ptolomeum prefatum'. Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 60 and n. 3, p. 192, transcription, p. 232, somehow conflates this will and the document in which Agnese became a *conversa* at San Romano. He transcribes this document, but he dates it 25 instead of 26 December and cites Agnese's alleged 26 December will, which, he says, included the quotation about Tolomeo, his role as executor of her estate, and the bequest of 800 lire to San Romano. The usually reliable Dondaine repeated these errors, 'Opuscula', p. 168 and n. 51. Strangely, Taurisano's date of 25 December corresponds with the 'octavo K. Januarii' in his transcription, but the actual document in the Lucca archives reads 'septimo k. Januarii', that is, 26 December. Even stranger, Taurisano cites the earlier editing of the document by Mansi (*Miscellanea*, IV, 609–10), but in that version the transcription correctly read 'septimo'.

³⁵¹ Di Poggio, *Aneddoti*, p. 423.

³⁵² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 24.6.1298.

³⁵³ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Nicolao, 23.12.1314.

and his brothers on 11 November 1277, but had promised, in a document of 18 February 1283, to sell back to them for the same price after his death. Lazzaro was now honouring his commitment and states in the document that one reason for his actions was a commission from Tolomeo,³⁵⁴ which confirms that Tolomeo was not in Lucca at the time.

The other document concerning Labro and Tolomeo, four years later, is a letter of Pope John XXII to the Archbishop of Pisa, written in response to Tolomeo's complaint about interference in his job as executor of Labro's will:

John, servant of the servants of God. Venerable brother, Archbishop of Pisa, health and full well being. Tholomeus of Lucca, executor of the will of Labro VolPELLI, a Luccan citizen, has complained to us that Thomus and Nicolumaus Henrici Encapestra, brothers, citizens of Lucca, kept from him certain theological books and other things which the deceased ordered to be disbursed by the hand of his executor for pious uses to those to whom they pertained, on account of which the execution of the will, which Tholomeus undertook and prosecuted through the license of his superior, was unfinished.

The Pope went on to order the Archbishop to summon the parties, and having heard the case to enforce his decision with full ecclesiastical sanctions.³⁵⁵

Less than a month after this letter, on 15 March 1318, Pope John XXII appointed Tolomeo bishop of Torcello. Today Torcello is a beautiful but desolate island in the Venetian lagoon, having only sixty residents. Looking out from the campanile of the cathedral one sees the few remaining buildings — the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta and the adjacent Church of Santa Fosca, a small museum, a few small buildings, and two excellent and expensive restaurants. All else has returned to swamp; here and there one can see the foundations or a few stones of a medieval or Roman building, and ongoing archaeological expeditions look for more. It is hard to believe that in the thirteenth century Torcello was a prosperous city of twenty thousand inhabitants, to which the two fine churches testify. Its diocese included the islands of Burano and Murano, the centre of Venetian glass manufacture, both of which today are far more prosperous than Torcello. It was

³⁵⁴ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, S.M. Forisportam, 23.12.1314.

³⁵⁵ Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 23.2.1318: 'Johannes episcopus servus servorum dei Venerabili fratri Archiepiscopo Pisano, sale et ampliciam benedictionem. Conquestus est nobis Tholomeus de Luca, Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, executor testimenti quondam Labri Vulpelli civis Lucani, quod Thomus et Nicolumaus Henrici Encapestra fratres cives Lucanes super quibusdam libris theologicis et rebus aliis quos idem defunctus ad se spectantes per manus ipsius executionis in pios usus erogari mandavit muniantur eidem, propter quod ipsius testamenti executio quam idem Tholomeus de sui superioris licentia suscepit ex prosequitur impolitur.'

possibly the earliest part of the lagoon to be significantly settled, by immigrants from Altino, followed by refugees from that city fleeing first the Huns and later the Lombards, but it was soon overshadowed by Venice. Eventually, as the ecology of the lagoon changed, it began a reversion to swamp and malaria became common. Its depopulation began in the fifteenth century, and in the seventeenth century the bishop moved to Murano, where his palace, known as the Palazzo Giustiniani, has served since 1861 as the Glass Museum.

From around the sixth century, the entire Venetian lagoon, including Torcello and even Venice itself, and other regions along the northern coast of the Gulf of Venice, were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Grado, an island near Trieste. This happened for complex historical reasons. When Attila the Hun invaded in 451, the Patriarch of Aquileia on the mainland fled to Grado, and waves of refugees settled all along the Gulf, as far as Venice. Although the islands had been previously settled, it was this immigration that was responsible for them becoming important. The Patriarch returned to Aquileia when peace returned, but the Bishop remaining in Grado claimed to be the true patriarch. His claim received papal support, especially after a schism broke out on the mainland, and during the Lombard invasions the mainland became Arian. The dispute between the two cities went on for almost a thousand years, even though in 732 a church council separated the sees and recognized both. Another synod in 1027 recognized the Aquileian patriarch alone, but Pope John XIX annulled this in 1029. Finally, in the fifteenth century, both came under the newly formed patriarchate of Venice. But long before this, throughout much of the Middle Ages, the patriarchs of Grado were mostly resident in Venice, and the documents that concern Tolomeo were mostly issued 'at Venice in the Patriarchal Palace'. Today, this palace, nestled behind the Doge's Palace, houses the Patriarchal Archive, which unfortunately contains documents only from the fifteenth century on.

John had promoted the previous bishop of Torcello, Domenico, who had himself only taken up his bishopric in 1314, to the patriarchate of Grado on 16 January 1317, after Giuliano (Julianus), prior of the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Majori of Venice, had turned down the office offered him in a canonical election. On the same day that John promoted Domenico, he confirmed Giuliano as his successor in Torcello. The bishopric became available again when Giuliano died soon after taking office, while at the papal court in Avignon.³⁵⁶ Death at the

³⁵⁶ Flaminio Corner (also known as Flaminius Cornelius, Cornelio, or Cornario), *Notizie storiche della chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello* (Padua: Manfre, 1758), p. 565; Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, p. 31; Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, v, col. 1394. Only John XXII in his appointment of Tolomeo (see below) mentioned that Giuliano died at Avignon. In *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, but

Curia gave the Pope the right to appoint a successor by a new policy that John had himself recently established, and which in 1319 he would make even more extensive. We see John defending this policy in the decree promoting Tolomeo, on 15 March 1318, which is preserved in the Dominican archives:

Among the other cares occupy our spirit, torn by the variety of many affairs, it especially behooves us to help the churches, when we see that they suffer from the inconveniences of a vacancy, with the remedy of a quick and healthful provision. Otherwise, with no pastor, the rapacious wolf might attack the Lord's flock and carry away and disperse the sheep. The church of Torcello, through the death of Giuliano of good memory, Bishop of Torcello, who ended his days at the Apostolic See attending us, has recently become destitute of the solace of a pastor. No one besides us is authorized to provide for his church — for not long ago, after we were raised to the apex of the highest apostolate, we reserved a vacancy of this kind to our disposition, that is, provision for any church, even a cathedral, which happened to become vacant through a death at our See, since we saw that it would be useless and vain, if in such cases, the provision should be made by anyone with whatever authority, knowingly or ignorantly, and also to prevent a lengthy process. Thinking solicitously and after deliberation with our brothers, having considered the investiture of gifts, with which the Lord has illuminated your person, to you [Tolomeo], as one dedicated to the Order of Friars Preachers, in whom the knowledge of letters, the honourableness of morals, the maturity of age, and other gifts of virtue are multiply born, we turn the eyes of our mind. And having weighed your person through our meditation and it having been found worthy by us and our brothers on account of the compelling quality of your merits, we provide for the said church of Torcello and you to it, and by the counsel of the same brothers we put you in charge as bishop, and commit its care and administration in spiritualities and temporalities to you as pastor. We do this in the name of him who gives gifts and lavishes rewards, confident that under your happy government, with the divine grace supporting you, the church of Torcello will be directed healthfully and prosperously. Therefore, may you take up the yoke of the church committed to you with willing devotion to the Lord and humbly bend your neck to be burdened sweetly, and thereby merit our reward and the reward of eternal recompense and most fully attain the benediction and grace of the said see. Given in Avignon on the Ides of March, in the second year of our pontificate.³⁵⁷

not in *Notizie storiche*, Corner claimed that 17 January [*sic*] 1317 is in reality 1318, because of the calendar used, and Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 68, must have used this for his claim that Domenico took up the patriarchate in 1318. This would leave a very short period for the accession and death of Giuliano, and the appointment of Tolomeo on 15 March. Though not impossible, and 1318 seems less likely to be correct than 1317, but no argument here hinges on the truth of this matter. Corner does not mention Giuliano in his earlier work, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, and the gap this created may have led him to propose the calendrical explanation.

³⁵⁷ *Bullarium ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. by Antonin Brémond and others, 8 vols (Rome: S. Maria sopra Minerva, 1729–40), II, 136: 'Inter sollicitudines alias, quibus noster animus rediditur ex multiplicitate negotiorum varietate distractus, illa nos exedit precipue, ut ecclesiis, quas

Tolomeo did not depart immediately for Torcello. I have already mentioned the testimony of Guglielmo di Tocco, who reported that he had spoken with Tolomeo in August 1318 in Avignon, and a year later, on 4 August 1319, said that Tolomeo was still there, ‘in the Curia with the Lord of Sabina’.³⁵⁸ Of course, since Guglielmo was in Naples at that time, his information may have been a little out of date, but the first evidence we have that Tolomeo was in Italy is 17 November 1319, when he gave his oath of allegiance to Domenico in the patriarchal palace of Grado (in Venice), which is preserved as an autograph.³⁵⁹ The oath is a conventional one, with nothing that reveals anything of Tolomeo or Domenico in particular or the situation of their churches. Swearing on the Gospels, Tolomeo

vacationis incommoda reportare conspicimus, de celeris, et salubris provisionis remedio succurramus, ne lupus rapax dominicum gregem pastore carentem, invadat, ovesque rapiat, et disperdat. Nuper siquidem ecclesia Torcellan per obitum bone memoria Juliani Episcopi Torcellan., qui apud Sedem Apostolicam diem clausit exterritum, pastoris solatio destituta, nos attendantes, quod de provisione ipsius ecclesie, nullius preter nos se intromittere poterat, propterea quod dudum ante vacationem huiusmodi postquam fuimus ad apicem Summi Apostolatus assumpti, provisiones omnium ecclesiarum etiam cathedralium, quas apud Sedem predictam vacare contigeret, dispositioni nostre duximus reservandas, decernentes ex tunc irritum, et inane, si secus super hoc per quoscumque, quavis auctoritate, scienter, vel ignoranter contigeret attentari, ac propterea de ipsius ecclesie provisione, ne vacationis dispendia prolixe subiret, solicite cogitantes, post deliberationem, quam super hoc habuimus cum nostris fratribus diligentem, consideratis muniberis gratiarum, quibus personam tuam illarum dominus illustravit, ad these, Ordinem Fratrum Predicatorum expresse professum, cui literarum scientia, morum honestas, etatis maturitas, et alla dona virtutum multipliciter suffragantur, convertimus oculos nostre mentis; quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis de persona tua, nobis, et eisdem fratribus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, dicte Torcellane Ecclesie providemus, teque illi, de fratrum eorundum consilio in episcopum preficimus, what pastorem, curam, et administrationem ipsius, tibi in spiritualibus, et temporalibus committingo; in illo qui dat gratias, et largitur premia confidentes, quod eadem Torcellana Ecclesia, sub tuo felici regimine, gratia tibi suffragante divina, salubriter, et prospere dirifetur. Jugum igitur Domini prompta devotione suscipias, et suavi eius oneri humiliter collum flectas, ipsius ecclesie comissum tibi regimen sic exerceas solicite, fideliter et prudenter, quod ipsa jugitur felicibus gratuletur successibus, sique proinde premium retributionis eterne, nostramque, ac prefate Sedis benedictionem, at gratiam uberioris consequi merearis. Datum Avenioni Idibus Martii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Secundo.’ The appointment is recorded in John’s register; see *Jean XXII lettres communes analysées*, ed. by G. Mollat and G. de Lesquen, 16 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1904–47), II, 102 n. 6608.

³⁵⁸ Guglielmo di Tocco, ‘Processus canonizationis sancti Thomae Aquinatis, Neapol’, §60, in *S. Thomae Aquinatis Vitae Fontes*, p. 289: ‘a Fratre Tholomeo, episcopo Torcellanensi, qui est in curia cum Domino Sabinensi [...] audivit predicta a dicto Fratre de mense Augusti proximi praeteriti anni, primae indictionis, quo ipse testis fuit in Curia Romana.’

³⁵⁹ The text of the oath is edited by Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 79–80.

promised obedience, preservation of church property, and the fulfilment of the traditional duties and assessments. Soon he was accused of violating this oath.

The episcopal appointment was doubtless meant to reward Tolomeo for his years of service and friendship with the Pope and to give him a secure and prestigious position in his declining years, but all did not go well for him in Torcello. It must have been difficult for an old man to adjust to his unaccustomed responsibilities and new role of authority, especially in a city he had likely never visited. We do not know for sure how isolated Tolomeo was in Torcello. We do know that he was joined by some relatives, who, as we shall see, ended up being the cause of many of his problems, and he may well have been acquainted with some of the elite Luccan exiles from the *popolo's* Statute of 1308 who had relocated to nearby Venice. But he may not have known a single native citizen or cleric. He may have relished what he expected to be unfettered power after years of dependence on eminent patrons and been frustrated when he came up against a patriarch he felt was micromanaging his see. Or it may be that we can attribute everything to senility, as has often been suggested; after all, if we accept the birth date of 1236, he was eighty-three when he gave his oath. It is unlikely that the Pope sent an obviously demented friar, whom he knew well, off to a strange town to be a bishop, but a document of 1327, written near the date of Tolomeo's death, confirms that Tolomeo became senile at some point during his tenure as bishop.³⁶⁰

A few years before he went to Torcello, when he published *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, he was already very close to eighty. In light of this it is interesting to repeat his comments in that work about Albertus Magnus at the same age: 'In scholarly matters, and this should be an example for others, he became quite foolish with respect to memory in the three years before his death.' I think that we can be certain that Tolomeo was thinking of himself when he wrote this, but we cannot know whether he had already noticed signs of decline in himself or only feared it. But he followed the cited comment with the hopeful words: 'but the vigour of his devotion to God did not fail him for doing the things that the state of his religion required.'³⁶¹

Whatever the cause or his motivation, a conflict soon broke out between Tolomeo and Domenico over a disputed election of the abbess of the monastery of San Antonio Eremita of Torcello. San Antonio was a Benedictine monastery

³⁶⁰ Manuscript of the Chancery of Treviso, 13.3.1327, ed. in Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, p. 85.

³⁶¹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXII.19, col. 1151: 'in scientificis, pro exemplum aliorum, multum disipuerit circa tres annos a sua morte quantum ad memorativam [...] vigor tamen devotionis ad deum non defuit ad faciendum, quae requirebat status suae religionis.'

and church (later to feature paintings by Veronese) located by itself on a small islet to the south of the eastern tip of the main island of Torcello and connected to it by a long wooden bridge. It continued to function for many years after Torcello began its decline, and there was still a large group of nuns living there at the end of the seventeenth century.³⁶² Many questions remain, but Tolomeo's involvement with San Antonio is the best-documented event of his life due to the survival of several long documents: the Patriarch's judgement in the case, which reprised the key events; the document excommunicating Tolomeo for disobeying the Patriarch; a letter from Pope John XXII attempting to defuse the crisis; and the oath of obedience from the successful candidate for abbess. Although these documents consist for the most part of formal phrases that tell us little of the actual details, we can reconstruct the basic situation fairly well.

The underlying problem had been simmering for several years. The former abbess, Daria, had died in late 1313 or early 1314, beginning a vacancy of several years, during which observance of the canonical hours and other religious practice declined. We can deduce this from several comments in the Patriarch's judgement in favour of one candidate for abbess on 3 April 1320. In it, Domenico states that Daria had died while the See of Torcello was vacant and also that while performing a routine visitation of Torcello he had discovered that the monastery had had no abbess for 'four years and more'. For the years to add up, this visitation would have had to have taken place some time earlier, before Tolomeo issued the recent decision being appealed. In any case, the length of the vacancy requires that Daria died before Domenico took up the bishopric of Torcello in 1314, so he could hardly have been surprised by his 'discovery', since the situation must have existed the whole time he himself was Bishop of Torcello. In addition, the document mentions that a certain Natalis was vicar of the church of Torcello during the vacancy, when the disputed election of a new abbess took place,³⁶³ and we know from another source that he took up this post on 12 February 1314.³⁶⁴

³⁶² Giulio Lorenzetti, *Torcello: La sua storia; I suoi monumenti* (Venice: Ente Provinciale per il Turismo di Venezia, 1939), p. 20; see also the historical map on p. 21.

³⁶³ 'Sentence of the Patriarch of Grado on behalf of Berzola [sic] Zeno, abbess of San Antonio of Torcello', Archivio monasterii S. Antonii de Torcello, ed. in Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 160–64 (pp. 160b, 162a–b). Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 68 n. 2, argues that she died in early 1314, but since we do not know exactly when the previous bishop, Francesco Dandolo, died, I see no reason to exclude late 1313.

³⁶⁴ Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 30–31.

At various times the nuns elected three different candidates to be the new abbess, though it is difficult to determine the order of the elections and the reason for them. The three aspirants were Fontana Loredano (or Lauredano), Biriola Zeno (or Marie Geno), and Catherina Gradenico (or Chaterina Gradonico). Catherina subsequently withdrew her name from consideration. These elections appear to have all taken place in the time before Domenico was named Bishop of Torcello, since the Patriarch's decision on the appeal in 1320 quoted Biriola's original appeal during the vacancy, and this mentioned all three candidates. According to this appeal, Biriola was the first to be elected, by a canonical scrutiny of the 'greater and healthier part' of the sisters of the chapter, all of whom had gathered for the purpose. The phrase 'greater and healthier part' could sometimes be used to defend the choice of a minority that thought it was right, but the combination of this phrase with the word 'scrutiny', what we call a simple vote, and the emphasis on all being present suggest that she claimed at least to be supported by a majority. The appeal went on to argue that this could not be annulled by the later invalid election of Catherina by the 'lesser part' of the monastery, or still less by the even later election of Fontana, which was 'said to have been attempted' by the 'lesser part', without even the proper notification, and after 'many days'.³⁶⁵

We do not have Fontana's version of the events, nor is there any indication of why Domenico did not resolve the problem while he was bishop. However, the discord within the monastery and the lack of clear leadership seems to have resulted in the laxness noted in the Patriarch's decree of 1320. Despite this decree, Fontana must have felt that she had a strong enough case to institute her own appeal to the Pope. Or perhaps she simply counted on Tolomeo's influence with John. We do know the reason Tolomeo used to support his decision for Fontana, even though he did not come to Torcello until five years after the election. In his appeal to the Pope, which we do not have but which John paraphrased, Tolomeo claimed that it was Fontana's election that occurred after the previous abbess's death by 'the greater and healthier part', whereas Biriola's election occurred 'less canonically, by the lesser part of the convent, with the [proceedings] conducted in discord'. In his view, then, Domenico annulled the more valid election. John

³⁶⁵ 'Sentence of the Patriarch', ed. in Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 162a–63b. Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 68, admits in a footnote that the documents from Torcello agree that Biriola was elected first, but he still maintains, without citing a source, that in reality Fontana was. He probably bases this on Pope John XXII's letter of 1 December 1322 (see below), a source that Corner and Ughelli apparently did not have, since they did not cite it, but which Taurisano edited.

also reported what Tolomeo believed to be the reason for Domenico's subsequent harsh actions against him: he was annoyed that Tolomeo and Fontana dared to make an appeal against his judgement, although this was a perfectly legitimate procedure to follow.³⁶⁶

The conflict escalated rapidly. According to John's account of Tolomeo's complaint, the Patriarch responded to the appeal by interdicting Tolomeo from his church, and he in turn, 'despite knowing the duties of his office concerning elections and those elected, confirmed the election of Fontana'. The Patriarch then harassed him, attacked his person and assets, and eventually excommunicated him.³⁶⁷ It is interesting to compare the versions of events in the decree excommunicating Tolomeo on 2 August 1321,³⁶⁸ which contains the condemnation of a council held on 19 July to examine his case, with his version in John XXII's letter of 1 December 1322. Oddly, the patriarchal document does not even mention the dispute over the abbess. Domenico likely wanted to base his case on Tolomeo's disobedience, which was grounds for action regardless of the eventual disposition of the appeal. In addition, he accused Tolomeo of a wide range of offences: 'the said bishop continually persists in major rebellion contemptuous of and deriding the jurisdiction, state, and dignity of Grado and destroys and dissipates the episcopate of Torcello.' Specifically, he had violated provisions of his oath to Domenico, which branded him as a perjurer: he did not come personally to the patriarchal court (in Venice) on the feast day of the local first-century martyrs Saints Hermagoras and Fortunatus (July 12), and he did not pay the church of Grado the annual five solidi owed, nor did he send a representative to explain the omission. He was also charged with gross mismanagement of his office: witnesses testified to 'the notorious squandering through his continuing actions and the bad administration of the spiritual and temporal things of the church and episcopate of Torcello'.

Much of the mismanagement and many of the crimes alleged against Tolomeo were, if true, the work of those in his court, and especially his nephews — Pucanello, Collutio, and Landutio — who were named in the documents of Grado and others. Doubtless these relatives hastened to Torcello after Tolomeo's

³⁶⁶ John XXII, letter to the Abbot of San Cipriano di Murano and others, 1 December 1322, Vatican Archives, Register of John XXII, v.74, ep. 269; ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 227–29; see *Jean XXII lettres*, IV, 213 n. 16681.

³⁶⁷ John XXII, letter to the Abbot of San Cipriano, ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 228.

³⁶⁸ 'Decree of Excommunication against Tolomeo, Bishop of Torcello', 2 August 1321, Patriarchal Archive, ed. in Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 80–83.

appointment to share in the wealth of his new position, and Tolomeo, transplanted to a strange city and no longer having the energy of his youth, was doubtless happy to have with him those whom he felt he could trust. The charges above were immediately followed by an even more serious criminal accusation, for which Tolomeo was summoned: ‘the infamy especially in the matter of the mortal wound inflicted by the familiars and nephews of the said Bishop on Jacobo, deacon of the church of San Apollenario of Venice, the sworn special messenger of the said Lord Patriarch’.³⁶⁹ The council called to adjudicate these matters issued its decree on 19 July, giving Tolomeo until 1 August to return to obedience under pain of excommunication. After the Patriarch declared that Tolomeo had not complied, the council issued a decree on 2 August, ‘excommunicating and anathematizing Lord Brother Tolomeo’ and putting the city of Torcello and any city that sheltered the Bishop under the interdict. The decree also excommunicated Jacobo, Archpriest of Torcello, the apostate Federico of Siena, Tolomeo’s nephews, and anyone else found to be adhering to or aiding Tolomeo, who were by such actions declared implicit in Tolomeo’s crimes.

Tolomeo treated all these charges and actions as harassment, stemming from the conflict over the abbess. According to John XXII’s account, ‘the Patriarch, greatly provoked against him by this and rising up against him and spattering him with the stain of various crimes, peremptorily caused him to be subpoenaed to various places with various subpoenas, so that he could respond to the said crimes in person.’ Tolomeo claimed that he had sent a legitimate procurator to explain his position, but the Patriarch ignored this and excommunicated him.³⁷⁰ In the account reported in John’s letter, Tolomeo complained bitterly of the consequences of the excommunication. Despite Tolomeo’s appeal to the Pope, the Patriarch appointed vicars who expropriated all the possessions and income of the See of Torcello. Even worse, the Patriarch abused the property of the church: ‘he cut a certain part of the said woods and sold the wood, and the price received he converted to his own use to please himself’ and did not even hesitate to commit violence against the Bishop and to use force to intimidate him:

³⁶⁹ ‘Decree of Excommunication’, p. 81b: ‘infamia predictorum praesertim vulneris mortalis illati per familiares, et nepotes dicti episcopi in Jacobum Diaconum ecclesie S. Apolinaris de Venetiis nuncium juratum speciale dicti domini patriarche.’

³⁷⁰ John XXII, letter to the Abbot of San Cipriano, ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 228: ‘Dictusque patriarcha ex eo contra ipsum amplius provocatus consurgens eum diversorum criminum labore respersum fecit eum per diversas citaciones peremptorie ad diversa loca citari, ut coram eo super dictis criminibus responsurus personaliter compareret.’

Rashly, putting aside the fear of God, he laid violent hands on the Bishop, at night in the palace of the Bishop, and caused the said Bishop to be captured and put him in a harsh jail, and detained him for a long time and detains him still, confined in jail, taking away from him all ability to talk with his near friends and acquaintances, extorting some promises, recognitions, and obligations from him, and even having his seal violently taken away from him and given to the Patriarch, after which he had various letters and recognitions made under the name of the said Bishop and sealed with his seal, with the Bishop unaware of it.³⁷¹

Acting on Tolomeo's complaint, John intervened directly in the controversy. Since John's letter of 1 December 1322 came sixteen months after the excommunication, Tolomeo probably languished in jail for an extended period. In his letter, John ordered the Abbot of San Cipriano to take certain actions: that the abbot himself, or one or two agents the abbot might appoint for this purpose, should immediately free Tolomeo from his imprisonment, that he should restore to Tolomeo the income and possessions of his see and all their property to his followers, that the Patriarch should be made to pay full restitution for those things consumed or destroyed, and that the Patriarch be forced to recognize the appeal to the Pope. John further instructed the abbot to call in the secular power, if necessary, to enforce his order. Finally, the abbot or his agents

should take care to cite the said Patriarch and Bishop peremptorily that within two months after the citation they present themselves personally to the sight of the Apostolic See. Otherwise, they should appear legitimately in our presence through suitable procurators suitably instructed and having in this a full and special mandate in the said district so that those things which are to be done collectively and singly about the preceding may legitimately be made evident in our presence and what the order of reason has dictated be taken back and our mandates and pleasure be accomplished.³⁷²

³⁷¹ John XXII, letter to the Abbot of San Cipriano, ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 228–29: 'Et nichilominus certam partem dictorum nemorum fecit incidi et ligna vendi, et precium exinde receptum in usus suos converti pro suo libito voluntatis, ac preter hoc dictum episcopum non absque manuum invective in eundem Dei timore postposito temere nocturno tempore in palatio dicti episcopi capi fecit et diro carceri mancipari, eumque diu detinuit et adhuc detinet carceri mancipatum, sibi loquendi cum proximis amicis et notis omnem auferens facultatem, extorquens nonnullas promissiones recogniciones et obligationes, nichilominus ab eodem eique faciens sigillum violenter auferri, ac diversas licteras et recogniciones sub eiusdem episcopi nomine confici fecit eiusque sigillo sigillari, dicto episcopo ignarante.'

³⁷² John XXII, letter to the Abbot of San Cipriano, ed. in Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 229: 'Ceterum prefatos patriarcham et episcopum vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel per alium seu alios ex parte vestri peremptorie citare curetis ut infra duorum mensium spacium post citationem huiusmodi personaliter aopstolico se conspectui representent. Aloquin per procuratores ydoneos sufcienter instructos ac hoc plenum et speciale mandatum habentes in dicto termino

The evidence of what happened after this is all indirect. We do not know whether Tolomeo or the Patriarch travelled personally to Avignon, although there have been unsubstantiated claims that Tolomeo was present on 18 July 1323 for the canonization ceremony of Thomas Aquinas.³⁷³ However, he is not listed in any accounts of the event, and it is perhaps unlikely considering his advanced age and long confinement. We do know that he was fully restored to his bishopric, although he had to give in on the question of the abbess. The eighteenth-century Nicolai Coleti, citing unknown documentary evidence, reported that on 15 March 1323 Tolomeo revoked his decree investing Fontana, in the presence of Peter, Abbot of St Thomas of Torcello, who had been specially delegated as a judge in this matter, and that on 11 September Biriola made her oath of obedience to him. This oath, which Coleti quotes at length, is conventional and contains little additional information about events, except to name those present and to say that it took place in the Cathedral of Santa Maria of Torcello.³⁷⁴

Little survives regarding Tolomeo's activities in the short time left to him after these events. Coleti reports that the records of the nuns of St John of Torcello reveal that in 1324 and again in 1325 Tolomeo consented to certain unspecified changes at that monastery.³⁷⁵ Within a year or two of this Tolomeo must have died, certainly by 10 June 1327, when Pope John XXII named Bishop Bartholomaeus of Castrum Sancti Stephani Tiniensis (today the village of Saint-Etienne-de-Tinée) bishop of Torcello. John's register specifically mentions that there was a vacancy because of the death of Tolomeo. Surprisingly, John wrote that Tolomeo died at the Apostolic See, and that this put the vacancy in the group of those reserved for papal appointment. We know that Tolomeo was in Torcello in September 1323, so his final trip to Avignon must have taken place no earlier

compareant legitime coram nobis facturis super premissis omnibus et singulis et recepturi quod
ordo dictaverit rationis nostrisque nichilominus mandatis et beneplacitis parituri.'

³⁷³ Taurisano, *Discepoli*, pp. 49, 55, says he was there, but cites no sources for this statement.

³⁷⁴ Ughelli and Coleti, *Italia sacra*, v, cols 1395–96. Coleti revised the original work of Ughelli (1595–1670) in 1720. Ughelli mistakenly wrote that Tolomeo died in 1321 and was replaced by Bishop Aegidius in 1322. Coleti corrected this and discussed the struggle with the Patriarch and the intervention of the Pope. He said that he based himself on 'many documents', most of which he did not specify and some of which I have not been able to find. The events that coincide with known documents is correct, so it seems reasonable to assume that he cited the other documents accurately as well. For the oath, Coleti cites the cartulary of San Antonio. For more on Abbot Peter (though there is nothing there about this matter), see Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, p. 196.

³⁷⁵ Ughelli and Coleti, *Italia sacra*, v, col. 1396.

than that date, and more likely after the 1325 monastic reforms. It is difficult to believe that the senile nonagenarian made the long trip to Avignon, but I do not think that the text can be understood to mean anything else.³⁷⁶

A document from three months earlier, dated 13 March 1327, of the chancery of the commune of Treviso, which includes a letter sent to the commune about Torcello by Doge Giovanni Soranzo (r. 1312–28), refers to Tolomeo in a way that Taurisano and Dondaine interpret as meaning Tolomeo was still alive, but which Krüger interprets as meaning he was dead.³⁷⁷ The Doge's letter reveals that the controversy concerning Tolomeo's relatives continued to simmer and states explicitly that it was Tolomeo's senility that led to their abuses. The document concerns the sale of some woods of the patrimony of Torcello by Tolomeo's nephews Homodutio (who was not one of the three nephews excommunicated with Tolomeo), and Landutio. After itemizing several reasons why the sale was illegal, the document continues:

Therefore Homodutio and Landutio could sell nothing of the said wood to your citizen ser Petro, and much less could your same citizen Petro sell it to your citizen ser Beraldino de Caserio, since no one could by rights transfer to another by law more than he himself had, and because your said citizens Petro and Beraldino understood the said rights, or ought to have understood them, the more so because it is not licit for them to ignore those things detrimental to the bishopric and church of Torcello. Since he who contracts with another, by rights either is or ought to be not ignorant of the condition of the one with whom he contracts, the said citizens of yours Petro and Beraldino are held to the whole penalty and interest that the church and bishopric of Torcello endured from their action and command, just as invaders and possessors in bad faith, since no one doubts that they are possessors in bad faith who deal in things interdicted by law. For also the affection toward nephews, which the Bishop of Torcello has for his nephews, leads to so much

³⁷⁶ Jean XXII *lettres*, vi, 553–54 n. 28923: ‘Bartholomaeus, Tiniensis episcopus, transfertur ad ecclesiam Torcellanam, per obitum Tholomaei apud sedem apostolicam praevia reservatione vacantem.’ I consulted a Latinist to see if there could be any justification to read this to mean that the appointment occurred ‘through the death of Tolomeo, by a previous reservation to the Apostolic See’, instead of the more obvious ‘through the death of Tolomeo at the Apostolic See by a previous reservation’, but he thought that this was not possible. Nicolò Battaglini, *Torcello antica e moderna studii* (Venice: Marco Visentini, 1871), p. 64, lists Tolomeo’s successor as Brother Bartolomeo de’ Pasquali, and Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, v, col. 1396, lists it as Brother Batholomaeus de Piscalis of Bologna, although, as Coleti points out without fully explaining his point, Ughelli conflated two Batholomaei. Ughelli also mistakenly gave the date of elevation as 28 February 1328. The usually careful Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 169, cites the correct item in Mollat, but gives the date as 30 June.

³⁷⁷ Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 84–85. Taurisano, *Domenicani*, p. 67; Krüger, *Ptolomeus Lucensis*, p. 23.

suspicion against the nephews on behalf of the bishopric of Torcello that even if it had been licit for the Bishop himself to have sold to others, it would not have been licit to sell to the nephews, just as all the things above are held by right sufficiently known to all, not to mention that there was deception in buying of more than half of just price and because more seriously it must be considered and judged that at that time the Bishop himself was not in the state of a sensate person, but alienated from his mind, and in intellect just like a boy.³⁷⁸

Krüger, without explaining himself, cites the clause ‘at that time the bishop himself was not in the state of a sensate person’ as support of his statement that the Doge spoke of Tolomeo as one already dead. Perhaps he meant that the use of the past tense for a condition from which Tolomeo would not recover is something one would do only for someone who has died. However logical this is, it seems to be less significant than the fact that the Doge said that Tolomeo ‘has’ (*habet*) love for his nephews and this ‘leads’ (*inducit*) to suspicion, and that he constantly referred to him as ‘the bishop’, rather than ‘the late bishop’ or the like. And legally it was Tolomeo’s state of mind in the past that was relevant for the matter in the document. The Doge, therefore, surely believed that Tolomeo was alive when he wrote the letter, which the Treviso document gave as the previous day, or 12 March 1327.

Since Tolomeo was at Avignon at the time of his death, and the news of his death would have taken some time to reach Venice, we cannot be confident that Tolomeo died between 12 March and 10 June 1327, but it could not have been much earlier than 12 March. This confirms the traditional date of 1327. If he was born in 1236, he would have been ninety or ninety-one years old. We do not

³⁷⁸ Manuscript of the Chancery of Treviso, 13.3.1327, ed. in Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, p. 85: ‘Ergo Homoducius et Landucius ser Petro Civi vestro nihil de dicto nemore vendere potuerunt, et multis minus idem Petrus civis vester ser Beraldino de Caserio civi vestro vendere potere, cum nemo possit plus juris in alium transferre, quam ipse habeat, ut dicant iura, et quia predicta jura dicti Petrus et Beraldinus cives vestri sciverunt, vel scire debuerunt, adeo quod ea in detrimentum Episcopatus et Ecclesiae Torcellane eis non licuit ignorare, quoniam qui cum alio contrahit vel est, vel esse debet non ignarus condicione ejus cum quo contrahat, ut dicunt iura, prefati Petrus et Beraldinus Cives vestri ad omne damnum et interesse quod ex facto et mandato ipsorum Ecclesia et Episcopatus Torcellan. substinxerunt, tanquam invasores et male fidei possessores tenentur, cum male fidei possessores nemo ambigit illos esse, qui contra legem interdicta mercantur. Nam et affectio nepotum, quam ad nepotes Episcopus Torcellanus habet, suspicionem contra Nepotes pro episcopatu Torcellano inducit in tantum, ut fortassis et si ipsi Episcopo licuisset aliis vendere, nepotibus vendere non licuerit, prout omnia predicta habentur in iure satis omnibus nota, nedum qui in emptione fuit deceptio ultra dimidium justi precii, et quod gravius cencendum et ponderandum est, tunc ipse Episcopus non erat in statu sensati hominis, sed alieni in mente, et in intellectu tamquam puer.’

know where he was buried, although it would likely have been in Avignon. There would have been little reason to bring his body back to the church that he knew only in his old age and that little esteemed him. In any case, the graveyard has long since disappeared, like much of Torcello, and there is no trace of his name today in either of the churches. He is not mentioned in any of the tourist literature for sale, and a priest I encountered there, who was involved with the maintenance of the basilica and Santa Fosca, had never heard of him.

Works

A NOTE ON TOLOMEO'S WORKS

Tolomeo wrote a number of works in various genres. Since none of them are explicitly dated, their order can be determined in most cases only approximately from internal evidence, including references to datable events, self-referential comments, and in a few cases by the type of material included. I will follow the chronological list of Tolomeo's works found in Emilio Panella's revision and completion of Kaeppeli's *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*,¹ which also contains the best compilation of the manuscript sources for each. In each of the following chapters, devoted individually to each of Tolomeo's works, I give a short description of each and evaluate the evidence — in some cases quite complex — about its dating and authenticity.

I will not devote a separate chapter to Tolomeo's one surviving letter, which he co-wrote with Prosper of Pistoia. This short document of 1307² is the only surviving remnant of Tolomeo's writing in the course of his activities in the Dominican order. It is quoted in full above, in Chapter 4. He and Prosper, under commission from the Provincial Prior, acted to settle a boundary dispute between the Luccan and Pistoian houses that began when San Romano established a hostel close to Pistoian territory. Its interest is solely in what it tells us about Tolomeo's life and activities.

¹ *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Kaeppeli and Panella, IV, 318–25.

² Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Diplomatico, San Romano, 7.4.1307. Emilio Panella edited this document, 'Quel che la cronaca', p. 234 n.16, as did Innocenzo Taurisano, 'L'organizzazione delle schuole domenicano nel sec. XIII', in *Miscellanea lucchese di studi storici e letterari in memorai di Salvatore Bongi* (Lucca: Scuola tipografica Artigianelli, 1931), 93–129 (p.123).

*DE IURISDICTIONE IMPERII ET AUCTORITATE
SUMMI PONTIFICIS (ON THE JURISDICTION OF THE
EMPIRE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE HIGHEST
PONTIFF, BETTER KNOWN AS DETERMINATIO
COMPENDIOSA DE IURISDICTIONE IMPERII)*

Most scholars believe this treatise on the legal status of the Roman Empire is Tolomeo's earliest surviving work. Its early twentieth-century editor, Marius Krammer, gave it the name by which it is commonly called, *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii*,¹ although the manuscripts of the work, its explicit, and Tolomeo's own citation of it in *De operibus sex dierum* prove that the correct title is *De iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis*. It is also sometimes known as *De iurisdictione imperii et auctoritate summi pontificis circa imperium* or *De iurisdictione imperatoris et imperii*.² This treatise uses arguments taken largely from canon and civil law to discuss the position of the empire, the election and authority of the emperor, and his proper relationship to the pope. If the traditional dating is correct, Tolomeo first developed here many themes that remained important in his later works, including the naturalness of government to humans, even before sin, hostility to monarchy, the virtue of the ancient Roman Republic, and the Fifth Monarchy of the pope predicted in the Book of Daniel. Although these themes are characteristic of Tolomeo, *De iurisdictione imperii* was only one of many works on papal-imperial relations

¹ *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii* (henceforth, *De iurisdictione imperii*), ed. by Marius Krammer, *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui*, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909), pp. 1–65.

² *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 31, p. 64; *De operibus sex dierum*, ix, p. 7.

written in the centuries of intense conflict between the two entities generally recognized as having universal authority in the Middle Ages.

After a short preface in which he defends the dialectical method by which he would proceed, Tolomeo summarizes the arguments he is writing the treatise to refute, ones that defend the claim that once the emperor was canonically elected by the German electors, he immediately had full jurisdiction as emperor throughout the empire. These arguments boil down to the following: 1) neither the pope nor the emperor is the superior of the other, so neither has the right to approve the other; 2) ecclesiastical lordship depends upon imperial, since there was an emperor before Peter, the first pope; 3) ecclesiastical lordship depends upon imperial, since any imperial rights the pope has were conferred on him by the Donation of Constantine, and Constantine had no right to do this without consent, or thereby bind future emperors; and 4) historical examples show that emperors had the right to judge elected popes.³

The rest of the treatise proceeds in typical scholastic form, with the other side (Tolomeo's) developed fully, followed by a specific refutation of the four arguments favouring the emperor. The most interesting feature is that which Tolomeo himself calls a 'digression', which stretches from Chapter 17 to 24, almost one-fourth of the entire treatise, on the nature of lordship in general.⁴ It is especially to the ideas of this section that Tolomeo would return in many of his future writings.

There are many surviving manuscripts of *De iurisdictione imperii*: Panella lists twenty-nine, nine of them from the fourteenth century, but none from the thirteenth.⁵ No author attribution or publication date appears in the treatise; in fact, the concluding paragraph, just before the explicit, mentions specifically that the author is writing anonymously and asks that his sincerity and zeal for truth excuse his temerity in taking on such a complex question, avoided by many for fear of scandal.⁶ It was only in the early twentieth century that it was shown to be the work of Tolomeo. Marius Krammer, who edited the treatise, was the first to attribute the work to Tolomeo, and he made a strong case for his authorship. This was later proved definitively by Martin Grabmann, who pointed to the fact that Tolomeo refers to this work in his later biblical commentary, *De operibus sex dierum*, which does identify Tolomeo internally as author: 'But whether humans then exercised lordship over humans, and whence — that is after sin — lordship

³ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 2, pp. 5–8.

⁴ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chaps 17–24, pp. 36–47.

⁵ *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Kaeppli and Panella, p. 319.

⁶ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 31, p. 64: 'tacito nomine'.

takes its origin, we reported sufficiently suitably in our little book or treatise *De iurisdictione imperii et summi pontificis*.⁷ Tolomeo then goes on to refer to some specific details from *De iurisdictione imperii*, including the kind of non-coercive rule that existed in Paradise, the nature of rule among the angels, and Augustine's definition of 'order'.⁸ The specificity of the citations, together with the unusual views cited, which are associated with no one other than Tolomeo, establishes with a certainty that it is this treatise and not another of the same name to which he referred.

Although various dates for its composition have been proposed, all of them until recently were in the period of the late 1270s to the early 1280s, when Tolomeo was probably in his early to mid-forties. Jürgen Miethke recently rejected all these previous datings and proposed a much later date, around 1300.⁹

Krammer has argued for a date of 1281.¹⁰ He asserts that it was certainly written before 1298, since it contains many references to the *Decretum* and *Decretales*, but none to the *Liber sextus*, issued in that year. In addition, Tolomeo cites Gregory X's 1274 decree *Avaritie* as being from his bull *Extra de electione*, and not from the *Liber sextus*,¹¹ which he would have done after 1298. Since

⁷ *De operibus sex dierum*, IX.7, pp. 116–17: 'Sed utrum homo homini tunc fuisse dominatus, et unde hodie, hoc est post peccatum, dominum traxit originem, in libello, sive tractatu de iurisdictione imperii, et summi pontificis satis convenienter, tradidimus', referring to *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 17, p. 36. See Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, pp. xxii–30; Martin Grabmann, 'Ein Selbstzeugnis Tolomeos von Lucca für seine Autorschaft an der *De iurisdictione imperii de iurisdictione imperii*', *Neues Archiv*, 37 (1912), 818–19. Emilio Panella, 'Rilettura del *De operibus sex dierum* di Tolomeo dei Fiadoni da Lucca', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 63 (1993), 51–111 (pp. 88–91), points out that the only manuscript of *De operibus sex dierum* actually reads, 'ed utrum homo homini tunc fuisse dominatus, et unde homo, hoc est post peccatum, dominum traxit originem', and that Masetti, the editor of *De operibus sex dierum*, sought to correct the flawed sentence by substituting 'hodie' for 'homo' without acknowledging this. Panella suggests that a copying error resulted in 'homo' being added where Tolomeo intended no word, especially since this would make the phrase almost identical to that in the corresponding chapter title in *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 17, 'unde dominium exordium habuit', and similar words elsewhere, and in the same treatise, chap. 25, p. 48, 'unde dominium traxit originem'. This correction seems reasonable to me, and I have adopted it in my translation. In any case, the meaning is essentially the same.

⁸ Jürgen Miethke, *De potestate papae: Die päpstliche Amtskompetenz in Widerstreit der politischen Theorie von Thomas von Aquin bis Wilhelm von Ockham* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2000), pp. 86–93.

⁹ Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, pp. vii–xxi.

¹⁰ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 29, p. 59: 'Revocata est per Gregorium X, in concilio Lugdunensi et ideo argumentum in proposito locum non habet, ut patet ex novissima Extra de electione c. Avaritie.'

Tolomeo calls the bull ‘very recent’, one would expect that it would date from nearer the beginning than the end of the 1274–98 range, but after Gregory’s death in 1276, since Tolomeo calls him ‘lord’ instead of the more usual ‘our lord’ used for a living pope. In addition, the text itself gives a rough date; it says that 250 years have elapsed since Pope Gregory V set up the imperial electors in 1030, leading to a date of around 1280.¹¹ That this is reasonable is confirmed by his statement in *De regimine principum* that this electoral procedure has gone on for ‘270 years or thereabouts’. Though Tolomeo does not mention a specific date in *De regimine principum* for the origin of the electors, using 1030 yields a date of 1300, which is close to when Tolomeo wrote.¹² Taking the two statements together, it seems clear to me that when he said 250 years had passed he meant this fairly precisely, and that if it had been six or seven years before or after 1280 he would have said 240 or 260 years. Finally, Krammer argues that the treatise must have addressed a specific purpose, and proposes that he wrote on behalf of the Luccan commune to oppose Rudolf von Habsburg’s appointment of a new imperial vicar of Tuscany in 1281.

Charles Till Davis has made an even stronger argument for 1277–78. Although he accepts Krammer’s reasoning for his dating of it as around 1280, he finds Krammer’s argument for 1281 specifically to be deficient.¹³ Davis points out that although Lucca did indeed violently oppose the vicar in 1281, there was no longer any doubt about his legitimacy, since Pope Martin IV supported him, and a previous pope, Gregory X, had confirmed the Emperor years before, in 1274. So the treatise was not relevant to the situation and its inclusion of a long passage praising Roman virtue would be strange in a work addressed to a French pope. Furthermore, Tolomeo refers to Charles of Anjou as ‘our lord’, but Charles had been forced to resign as Tuscan vicar in 1278. Krammer himself had used a similar argument to put the treatise after the reign of Gregory X. The only weakness in this argument, not mentioned by Davis, is that Rudolf was never crowned by the Pope, and Tolomeo argues in *De iurisdictione imperii* that this is necessary for a true emperor.¹⁴ However, in this situation his protest would have been of little

¹¹ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 13, pp. 30–31.

¹² *De regimine principum*, III.19.1. Tolomeo got all the dates wrong in his early work. Gregory V ruled from 996 to 999 and Otto III from 980–1002. Gregory did crown Otto III, as Tolomeo claims, but this was in 996. By the time he wrote *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, Tolomeo moved the date of the crowning and institution of the imperial electors by Gregory to 1021.

¹³ Davis, ‘Roman Patriotism’, pp. 417–21.

¹⁴ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chaps 30–31, pp. 60–64.

use given the existing papal approval of the vicar, with the acquiescence even of Charles, and the letters of the Pope and King urging Tuscan acceptance of him. Even if Tolomeo could have convinced the Pope that the Emperor had no right to independent jurisdiction outside of Germany, he could not argue that the Pope had no right to recognize the vicar of an uncrowned emperor.

Davis concludes that the treatise must have been composed before 24 September 1278, when Charles gave up his vicariate, which he had held for ten years and four months, and he argues that it likely stemmed from the period after the election of Pope Nicholas III on 25 November 1277. It was only then that the political situation and the character of the Pope would have been such as to call forth a treatise like Tolomeo's. Nicholas's predecessors had generally favoured Charles, though they promised to crown Rudolf if they could settle a dispute over the Romagna. Nicholas successfully concluded these negotiations, and by early 1279 was able to appoint his own nephew, Cardinal Latino Malabranca, as Tuscan vicar. Tolomeo would have been stimulated to write only in the period when all this was up in the air. And he would have been unlikely to appeal to Roman patriotism during the pontificate of the Spanish John XXI (1276–77) the pro-French Innocent V (1276) or Adrian V (1276), or the French Martin IV (1281–85). Nicholas, on the other hand, was himself a Roman, one of the chief opponents of the French faction, a member of the powerful Orsini family of Rome, and the son of Roman senator Matteo Rosso Orsini. Further, his pronouncements were full of praise for Rome and its government.

Davis's arguments went further, maintaining that Tolomeo and Nicholas had a common outlook on some important matters and that the arguments of *De iurisdictione imperii* may have influenced Nicholas at least to the point to which some of its ideas found their way into documents from imperial sources drafted by papal agents as part of the settlement resulting from negotiations between the two parties.¹⁵ The evidence for Tolomeo's influence on the Pope is tenuous at best, since the ideas were ones not original to Tolomeo: the papal translation of empire from the Greeks to the Germans and the principle that the emperor used the material sword only with the command of the pope. But Davis also points to a deeper affinity between Tolomeo and Nicholas: the two men shared an uncommon conjunction of attitudes — a favourable disposition toward republican government in cities, especially in Rome, and strong papal monarchy. The sixteenth-century historian Onofrio Panvinio pointed to Nicholas specifically as one who tried to restore the republic by reforming the Senate and other

¹⁵ Davis, 'Roman Patriotism', pp. 421–30.

offices.¹⁶ Several of Nicholas's bulls address governmental reform in Rome: the right of holding elections for judges and senators and correcting officials who abused their positions. In Tolomeo's republicanism, both in *De iurisdictione imperii* and later, we find many of these features, especially in the early treatise, which exhibits an unusual emphasis on the Senate.¹⁷

Jürgen Miethke has challenged the early dating of *De iurisdictione imperii*, contending that it was written in 1300 or shortly thereafter.¹⁸ He is certainly correct that the argument of the treatise does fit well with the situation of Albert I (1298–1308), but it would also fit the situation in 1296 of his predecessor Adolf von Nassau (1291–98), or that at many other times during the reign of the three uncrowned emperors, the two above and Rudolf I (1273–91). In fact, in his *Annales*, which, admittedly, was not written until 1303 or so, Tolomeo himself uses this argument to address the situation in 1296 when the Tuscans attempted to bribe Boniface VIII to withdraw support for Adolf's newly appointed Tuscan vicar, Johannes de Gabillone. Tolomeo comments that this was not necessary because the appointment was not legitimate unless the Tuscans consented, since Adolf had not yet received papal confirmation as emperor.¹⁹ Italians were always trying to avoid submission to the emperor, and having an uncrowned emperor for thirty years would provide a ready pretext for them to refuse to accept his agents, regardless of whether or not this was the accepted teaching of the church. From the very beginning of the revived empire in the West, emperors were forced to beg or to try to force the pope to crown them, and popes insisted that their crowning was necessary for them to be emperors. That this would happen was no doubt one of the reasons that Charlemagne's biographer, Einhard, reported that the King would not have attended Christmas Mass if he knew that the Pope was going to crown him emperor. What jurisdiction an uncrowned emperor would have is another question, but there is no doubt that papal crowning was necessary to assure legitimacy.

¹⁶ Onofrio Panvinio, *De gente Sabella*, ed. by E. Celani, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 12 (1891), 271–309; 13 (1892), 187–206 (p. 188). Panvinio cited Tolomeo for some of his information about Nicholas.

¹⁷ Though he does not mention Davis, Panella ('Rilettura', p. 91) argues that *De iurisdictione imperii* must have been written after 1280 because of a mention of Albertus Magnus that presupposed his death, which occurred in that year. The argument is not convincing to me, since it relies merely on Tolomeo comparing Albertus as a great modern doctor to the great doctors of antiquity, and I do not see why he could not have done this when he was still alive.

¹⁸ Miethke, *De potestate papae*, pp. 86–93.

¹⁹ *Annales*, 1296, p. 232.

More to the point, Miethke argues that the precise formulation found in *De iurisdictione imperii* concerning the relationship between the election of the German king and his right to exercise lordship in non-German lands as King of the Romans was developed in the papal Curia only during the latter half of the reign of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303). In 1295 Boniface wrote to Adolf von Nassau and called him King of the Romans, using this title even though his purpose was to chide Adolf for not seeking papal approbation. Yet, in precisely the same situation in 1302 he referred to Albert I only as Duke of Austria, and in several letters of 1300–01 he said that the Roman Empire was vacant. It was only in the intervening years, Miethke asserts, that the Curia had come to formulate the series of stages outlined in *De iurisdictione imperii*. This is certainly suggestive, though one should note that King of the Romans is not the same as Roman Emperor and that popes had often been inconsistent in how they referred to imperial claimants. Like Boniface in 1295, Tolomeo himself, in the passage just cited concerning 1296, but written after Miethke's critical period, called Adolf 'King of the Romans' at the same time that he denied his authority to appoint a Tuscan vicar without papal confirmation. So this development in the papal Curia does not seem to have affected Tolomeo.

Miethke is a major scholar and certainly one whose judgement must be considered seriously, but his argument is far from persuasive. Certainly, the relationship of pope and emperor had long been a topic of debate, and the arguments of *De iurisdictione imperii* are not anachronistic for a work of c. 1280 in the sense that it would have been impossible for an author of the time to have conceived them, as Miethke himself realized. Even though he considers the lack of any similar formulation around 1280 very strong evidence for his thesis, in the end his confidence wanes, and he thus prefaces some of his conclusions with the words 'But however it turns out [...]'²⁰

To me, the evidence provided by Davis, based on contemporary events and Nicholas III's background and actions as pope, seems much stronger. Though Boniface VIII was an Italian and probably born in Latium, he did not grow up or spend much time in Rome before his election, and he is not known for any of the Roman patriotic or Roman republican attitudes to which Tolomeo appealed. Whether it is possible to make the case that *De iurisdictione imperii* depended upon the discussions in the papal Curia around 1300 is yet to be determined. Miethke does not do this. In addition, Miethke does not attempt to refute any of Davis's evidence. Nor does he address some of the persuasive details from

²⁰ Miethke, *De potestate papae*, p. 91.

Krammer's argument, especially the reference to a 1274 bull as 'very recent' and the remark that 250 years had passed since 1030. Also suggesting an early date to me are Tolomeo's remarks in his conclusion in which he sought to excuse his temerity in taking on this subject and deferred to 'the judgement of the experienced'.²¹ While this may be mere convention, it is unlike anything we find in Tolomeo's mature political works and seems much more suited to a young writer publishing his first work than to the well-respected prior of 1300. Until Miethke satisfactorily addresses all these concerns, there is no reason to accept his claim. It is surprising to me that he made no attempt to do so and thought he could overturn a long-accepted orthodoxy based on strong arguments with a merely suggestive claim, which for all these reasons is fatally flawed.

I took a different approach, not initially concerned with making an argument about the date of *De iurisdictione imperii*, which then seemed uncontroversially to be around 1280, when I argued a few years ago that a comparison of the Aristotelian content of *De iurisdictione imperii*, *De regimine principum*, and *De operibus sex dierum* (usually considered to have been written between the other two works) demonstrates that 'for his general approach to the analysis of politics, his criteria for judging the worth of government, and his basic political principles Tolomeo is greatly and increasingly indebted to Aristotle's *Politics*'.²² While this article was in press, I found out about Miethke's new claim. It was in this context that a few months later I found out about John La Salle's work on an unpublished article of Hans Baron, in which Baron had claimed that Tolomeo had evolved from a purely medieval thinker to what was essentially a civic humanism in the years between *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De regimine principum*. It may surprise no one that Aristotelianism and civic humanism might develop together, but it also seemed to me that if two independent chains of reasoning led to similar conclusions — that both in regard to civic humanism and Aristotelianism Tolomeo Fiadoni underwent a major development of outlook between *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De regimine principum* — it would be much more likely that this transformation could only have taken place over a longer period of time than the maximum of one or two years allowed by Miethke. Taking into account the conclusions La Salle and I reached in our joint articles based on the Baron manuscript and my argument about Tolomeo's Aristotelianism, I believe that for now an early date for *De iurisdictione imperii* is fairly secure, and the specific date that Davis proposed is the most convincing one.

²¹ *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 31, p. 64.

²² James M. Blythe, 'Aristotle's *Politics* and Ptolemy of Lucca', *Vivarium*, 40 (2002), 103–36, (p. 135).

DE OPERIBUS SEX DIERUM
(ON THE WORKS OF THE SIX DAYS,
BETTER KNOWN AS *EXAMERON*)

Hexamera — commentaries on the six days of Creation — were common from patristic times on. Genesis 1 and 2 concern the origins of the universe, the earth, and its creatures, and for this reason hexamera came to be compendia of science, nature, and philosophy, as well as theology, increasingly influenced from the twelfth century on by the Aristotelian worldview and Greek science. As scholastic genres developed, the number of hexamera decreased, though not interest in their subjects, since understanding of Creation became key to the reconciliation of Greek and Christian thought. Several of the assumptions and conclusions of the two worldviews that seemed irreconcilable were most acute in the accounts of Creation. For example, Aristotle posited an eternal universe, whereas Christianity believed in creation *ex nihilo*. The last great hexameron is usually thought to be that of Robert Grosseteste in the mid-thirteenth century.

The only full-length studies of the genre are Frank Robbins's 1912 book, *The Hexaemeral Literature*, which discusses only the patristic hexamera, and Gunar Freibergs's 1981 thesis, 'The Medieval Latin Hexameron from Bede to Grosseteste'.¹ One reason for this neglect is that, like most commentaries, hexamera tend

¹ Frank Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912); Gunar Freibergs, 'The Medieval Latin Hexameron from Bede to Grosseteste' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1981). Robbins does list some medieval hexamera. As Freibergs, p. 6, notes, most Hexamera go only through Genesis 2. 3, with events in Paradise not a proper part of the six or seven days. But some medieval hexamera did include this material.

to be largely unoriginal. But like scholastic and canon law commentaries, hexamera prove on closer examination to be rich sources for medieval thought, and one hopes that like the former two categories hexamera will eventually receive the scholarly attention they deserve.

Freibergs states that Aquinas included a ‘Treatise on the Work of the Six Days’ in *Summa theologiae*, but claims that it was of ‘a totally different genre’.² Yet it follows closely the order of Genesis and addresses the same kind of questions as earlier hexamera. Freibergs must have been thinking of the scholastic form and Aristotelian perspective, but surely this is part of the evolution of the genre, and Thomas used the classic hexamera extensively. Tolomeo, in turn, mined both older hexamera and Thomas.

All medieval hexamera drew on key patristic and early medieval models, particularly those of Ambrose, Basil, and Bede, and even more on Augustine’s Genesis commentaries. Although this was inherently a conservative genre, its character changed over the years. For Freibergs, Carolingian and early twelfth-century hexamera, and those from the decades after Peter Abelard, ‘took refuge in the authority of the scriptures and the Fathers and regarded rational enquiry into the biblical account with suspicion’. In contrast, the hexamera of Bede, Abelard, Grosseteste, and others developed new ideas, particularly scientific ones.³ But he believed that after a flowering in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, those interested in science adopted scholastic forms, while those few who wrote hexamera ‘gravitated toward theology, metaphysics, and mysticism’,⁴ or used the title as a cover for encyclopedic works only nominally tied to Genesis.⁵

More neglected than most is the *De operibus sex dierum* — or, as it has come to be known, but less correctly, *The Exameron* — of Tolomeo Fiadoni, despite the fact that, with the exception of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, it is the longest of his works and the only theological one. Freibergs and most others do not even seem aware of the hexamera of Tolomeo and his contemporary Giles of Rome, which do not fit Frieberg’s categories. Tolomeo’s hexameron was thought to be lost until the late nineteenth century, when P. F.-Pius Thomas Masetti identified a manuscript of it and edited a printed edition, but although it has been readily available since then, it has been neglected for Tolomeo’s more political works.

² Freibergs, ‘Medieval Latin Hexameron’, p. 270. Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae*, I.65–74, is a ‘Treatise on the Work of the Six Days’, and I.75–102 is a ‘Treatise on Humanity’.

³ Freibergs, ‘Medieval Latin Hexameron’, pp. 279–81.

⁴ Freibergs, ‘Medieval Latin Hexameron’, p. 284.

⁵ Freibergs, ‘Medieval Latin Hexameron’, p. 270.

Giles's hexameron languishes in a rare 1521 edition, despite the author's prominence.⁶ Once Tolomeo's manuscript was found it was not difficult to determine the author. The explicit states, 'End of the *Book on the Works of the Six Days* according to the tradition of the sacred doctors, composed and compiled by Brother Tolomeo of Lucca of the Order of Friars Preachers'.⁷

Emilio Panella has provided the most thorough treatment of the work in a long and carefully argued 1993 article describing and analysing the only known manuscript and Masetti's edition of it.⁸ This manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy, probably mid-fourteenth-century in Panella's opinion, written by two scribes, now in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome.⁹ Though its early provenance is not known, Panella has suggested that it might have been from Avignon, and he has attempted to determine its history from the fifteenth century on.¹⁰ The marginal gloss, which identifies many of the sources used in the text but not cited there, most likely was in the original manuscript and composed by Tolomeo himself.¹¹ The printed edition is flawed and one must use it with care, since there are many misreadings and mistranscriptions, and some attempts, without any indication in the edition, to correct or improve the manuscript text. At one point, the

⁶ Tolomeo Fiadoni (Tholomeaus de Luca), *Exaemeron, seu De operibus sex dierum Tractatus* (henceforth, *De operibus sex dierum*), ed. by Thomas Masetti (Siena: S. Bernardino, 1880). Giles of Rome's (*c.* 1243–1316) *Hexameron* (Venice, 1521) is often not mentioned in studies of this important writer, even ones that focus on his views of Creation. For example, it is not mentioned in William Carlo's 1955 dissertation, 'The Doctrine of Creation in Giles of Rome' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1955). Nor is it cited in Patrick Moloney's 1994 more general dissertation, 'The Mirror of Paradise: Language and Politics in Medieval and Early Modern Political Thought' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, 1994). Moloney does discuss Tolomeo's hexameron, and I am indebted to him.

⁷ *De operibus sex dierum*, p. 239: 'Explicit liber de operibus sex dierum secundum sacrorum doctorum traditionem, compositus et compilatus a fratre Ptolomeo Lucano Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum. Benedictus Deus. Amen.' Note that Tolomeo here refers to a long, multi-part work with the singular noun *book*. This will become important when we consider what Tolomeo meant when he wrote, in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, that Thomas Aquinas wrote a 'book', *De regimine principum*.

⁸ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 51–111.

⁹ Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 22, A.V. 26, once Vat. lat. 1060, fols 1^r–170^v.

¹⁰ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 72–77.

¹¹ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 62–71. One reason for thinking that Tolomeo wrote the gloss is that it refers to his own *Historia quadripartita* and *Historia tripartita*, which Tolomeo cites in several of his other works, but are now believed never to have been written. The gloss is found only in the part transcribed by the first scribe, whom Panella calls 'A', that is, fols 8^v–102^v.

edition shifts from using Tolomeo's biblical quotations to using a later standard Vulgate text.¹²

The fact that the commonly used title today is *Exameron* is an artefact of the Masetti edition, which lists that as the main title, with the subtitle *seu De operibus sex dierum tractatus*. Though Tolomeo chose the Latin title, he clearly knew the Greek word and wished to associate his work with the great hexamera of the past, as he makes clear in the epilogue:

Thus, these things have been said of the works of the six days in so far as the mode of procedure and this matter demands, so that thus this little book might deserve its name, since thus the Divine Ambrose called his book, namely *Exameron*, in which he treated the things here mentioned, which in the Latin tongue is interpreted 'Of the Six Days': for 'Exa' is six in Greek and 'emeron' days.¹³

Though ambiguous, the most obvious meaning of this is that Ambrose's title is the same as his, in that the Greek title of the earlier work means the same as the Latin title of the later one. That the Latin title is correct is confirmed by Tolomeo's own citation of this work both internally and elsewhere. In every case, he calls it *De operibus sex dierum*, sometimes with *Liber* or *Tractatus* appended. One might argue that the words that follow these in the incipit and explicit, 'secundum sacrorum doctorum traditionem', form part of the title, but Tolomeo never includes them in his citations, and so we can assume that he meant these words as explanation.¹⁴ One might argue for retaining the popular title since that is what was used in the only manuscript reference to the work that survives, in the *Catalogue* of Lorenzo Pignon (1394–1412),¹⁵ but I will follow Tolomeo and Panella.

It is extremely difficult to determine when Tolomeo wrote the treatise, since the text makes no references to contemporary events. Masetti proposes no date and only says that based on his citations of Thomas Aquinas it was written some-

¹² Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 77–81.

¹³ *De operibus sex dierum*, xv.8, p. 236: 'Haec igitur de operibus sex dierum in tantum sint dicta, quantum et modus agendi, et materia haec exposcit, ut sic proprie libellus denominationem suscipiat, quoniam sic etiam Divus Ambrosius suum librum appellat, videlicet Exameron, ubi de praedictis pertractat, quod latina lingua sex dierum interpretatur: Exa enim sex graece, emeron vero dies dicitur.'

¹⁴ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 82–83.

¹⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14582, fol. 141^{tb}, ed. in *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica: Accedunt catalogi Stamsensis et Upsalensis scriptorum O.P.*, ed. by Gilles Gérard Meersseman, Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica, 18 (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 1936), p. 64 n. 58; see Panella, 'Rilettura', p. 110.

time between Thomas's death (1274) and his canonization (1323),¹⁶ a range that one could surmise even with no internal evidence, though only the 1323 limit is absolutely certain, since Tolomeo did not refer to Thomas as a saint. But Masetti also asserts without any justification that he thinks it is likely to have been written very late in the thirteenth century at the earliest, and probably after 1300.¹⁷ Dondaine does not suggest a date, but in 'following chronological order as much as possible', he puts it between *De regimine principum* (after 1298) and *Annales* (1303–06).¹⁸ Bernhard Schmeidler, in the introduction to his edition of the *Annales*, asserts that it was written after the *Annales*, that is, after 1303–06.¹⁹

Panella was the first to attempt a thorough analysis of the text to determine its date. He was not certain of his conclusion that it was written between 1285–95, even though he was confident enough to mention only this range in *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*.²⁰ The effective dating of this work would have an impact on the controversy discussed under *De iurisdictione imperii*, since if Panella could be confirmed, it would refute Miethke's proposed dating (since *De operibus sex dierum* cites *De iurisdictione imperii*) and make more credible my argument that Tolomeo developed in his approach to Aristotle between *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De operibus sex dierum* and between *De operibus sex dierum* and *De regimine principum*. On the other hand, if *De operibus sex dierum* were to turn out to have been written after the other two works, which seems unlikely to me because of the different treatment of common material in them, it would refute the second term of my argument, and perhaps call the whole into question.

Panella looked closely at ideas that occur both in *De operibus sex dierum* and other works of Tolomeo. In particular, Book IX, Chapter 7, on the rule of humans over animals and other humans, shares much material and some wording with *De regimine principum* Book III, Chapter 9, but it also explicitly cites *De iurisdictione imperii* by its correct name, saying that the subject of human over human lordship had been sufficiently treated there, and closely paraphrased

¹⁶ Masetti, introduction to *De operibus sex dierum*, p. xi.

¹⁷ Masetti, introduction to *De operibus sex dierum*, pp. xiv–xv.

¹⁸ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 170.

¹⁹ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xxxii.

²⁰ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 83–100; *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Kaeppeli and Panella, IV, 320. Miethke, *De potestate papae*, p. 87 n. 232, points out that Panella could only place it with near certainty in a wide period of time, though he substitutes Masetti's 1274 for Panella's 1280 *terminus post quem* since the latter date depended upon a dating of *De iurisdictione imperii* that he did not accept, and for no reason I can see he substitutes 1323 for Panella's 1317 latest date.

an extensive passage from it.²¹ Since the same material was also covered in *De regimine principum*, with which Chapter 7 has more in common than with *De iurisdictione imperii*, there would have been no reason for him to go back to *De iurisdictione imperii* unless *De regimine principum* had not yet been written and *De operibus sex dierum* served as a source for the latter, rather than the reverse. Incidentally, this proves definitively that *De operibus sex dierum* was written after *De iurisdictione imperii*.

Schmeidler has argued that *Annales* (1303–06) preceded *De operibus sex dierum* because of the identical language used in the description of a comet of 1264. But he gives no reason why the borrowing could not have been the other way around, and in fact Panella uses the passage to shave a few years off the latest date of 1323. *Annales* mentions that the comet appeared around the time of the death of Pope Urban IV, whereas *De operibus sex dierum* says it portended the coming of Charles of Anjou and the downfall of Conrad. In *Historia ecclesiastica nova* (1313–16) Tolomeo says that it portended both events, suggesting a natural process of combining his earlier explanations, and this would mean that *De operibus sex dierum* was written before 1316.²² Though Tolomeo also mentions several other portentous comments, he does not mention the one seen in Florence in 1301, where he was living, and which was so impressive and seemingly connected with the dire events of that time that it was mentioned by many Florentine writers, and by Tolomeo himself in both *Annales* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. This strongly suggests that *De operibus sex dierum* was written before 1301.²³ One of Tolomeo's Florentine brothers at Santa Maria Novella was Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, who had travelled extensively in the Holy Lands, and in Mesopotamia in particular. There is some evidence that Tolomeo got some information on contemporary crusades from Riccoldo for the *Annales*, but not for his descriptions of the Tigris and Euphrates region in *De operibus sex dierum*, for which he relied solely on classical sources. While far from proof, this again suggests a date before 1301.²⁴

Tolomeo's comments on the legal age for ordination to the priesthood gives some evidence for *De operibus sex dierum* being written before 1298, the year of the publication of the canon law collection *Liber extra* by Boniface VIII. Tolomeo

²¹ *De operibus sex dierum*, IX.7, p. 116.

²² Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 85–86.

²³ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 93–94.

²⁴ Panella, 'Rilettura', p. 97.

cites *Decretales* to say that the church, ‘by new right’, now ‘tolerates’ an age of twenty-five instead of the ancient age of thirty. But the *Liber extra* makes a stronger statement of the new age than *Decretales*, and the *Clementine Decretals* of 1317 an even stronger one. Tolomeo cites the *Liber extra* in *Annales* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, and the Clementines in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* (though from his knowledge of these decretals before the collection was issued), so it seems likely that he would have cited these if he they had been available. Panella felt that the Clementine text is so definitive that Tolomeo could not possibly have written what he did after 1317.²⁵ Another possible confirmation is the fact that Tolomeo mentions the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* in *De regimine principum* but not in *De operibus sex dierum*, despite his treatment of household governance. The translation of *Economics* was first made in the papal court in Anagni in 1295, so perhaps *De operibus sex dierum* was not written after that date.²⁶

As Panella himself realized, all these factors do not prove beyond doubt that *De operibus sex dierum* was written between 1285 and 1295. In fact, he gives no reason why it could not have been written between 1280 and 1284, and the only argument that suggests itself to me is that he would have needed several years after finishing *De iurisdictione imperii* to have written it. To me the strongest confirmation for the reasonableness or probability of such a date is the development of ideas between *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De operibus sex dierum* and between *De operibus sex dierum* and *De regimine principum*, for which I will argue.

²⁵ Panella, ‘Rilettura’, pp. 94–96.

²⁶ Panella, ‘Rilettura’, pp. 98–99; *De regimine principum*, iv.28.10.

DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM
(ON THE GOVERNMENT OF RULERS)

Tolomeo's most famous work is also the one that raises the most questions about authorship and process of composition. *De regimine principum* is the continuation of a work traditionally ascribed to Thomas Aquinas. Thomas wrote at most only the First Part, known also as *De regno ad regem Cypri*, and Tolomeo continued it in the Second Part from the middle of Book II, Chapter 4 (Leonine II.8).¹ Some manuscripts have only the First Part, a few end in the middle of Book II, Chapter 2 (Leonine II.6), but many others contain all four books. In the nineteenth century, Reginald Poole wrote: 'The four books *De regimine principum* held their ground as the accepted textbook of political philosophy until the opening of modern history.'² To the extent that this is true

¹ Tolomeo's portion begins in the middle of a sentence in II.4.7 with the words 'since, as Seneca says' (*quia ut Seneca dicit*). The two most important sources for the manuscript tradition are Hyacinthe-François Dondaine's introduction to Thomas Aquinas, *De regno*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by H.-F. Dondaine (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 1979), XLII, 421–47, and Alfred O'Rahilly, 'Notes on St Thomas: IV, *De regimine principum*', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, ser. 5, 31 (1929), 396–410. Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 1 (I) (this unpublished manuscript is described in detail below), declares that the divided authorship became known in the sixteenth century. This is demonstrably false, as will soon be clear. During the sixteenth century several prominent scholars — Cujus, Barclay, Barbavara, Bellarmine — called the authenticity of the whole work into question. It was only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that scholars again argued for Aquinas writing part or all of the work. See L. P. Fitzgerald, 'St Thomas Aquinas and the Two Powers', *Angelicum*, 36 (1979), 515–56 (pp. 526–27).

² Reginald L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought in the Departments of Theology and Ecclesiastical Politics* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1884), p. 240 n. 15. This is also cited by Hans Baron in 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 1 (I).

(I think it is much exaggerated), its prominence can be ascribed to the fact that for much of its history, and as late as the late nineteenth century, the treatise was ascribed to Thomas in its entirety, often appearing among Thomas's collected works.³ This is despite two late fourteenth-century manuscripts, and several later ones, including a fifteenth-century Italian translation, that explicitly ascribe the two parts to Thomas and Tolomeo. It is difficult to understand how anyone could have thought that a single author wrote both parts, since they differ in style, content, emphasis, organization, authorities cited, and choice of materials. Even more strikingly, the political beliefs of the two parts are often contradictory, especially in the matter of kingship, which is praised in and stands at the centre of Book I but is frequently criticized in Books II through IV.

³ There is no truly satisfactory way to cite the text of this work, especially when one is considering the contributions of both authors. The complete work is always known as *De regimine principum*, and the part attributed to Thomas is also often called this, even in the early fourteenth-century catalogue of Thomas's works that Tolomeo himself compiled, though it probably was originally known as *De regno* or *De regno ad regem Cypri*. Most modern editions combine these and call it *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri*. There is near-universal agreement that the First Part breaks off in the middle of a sentence in II.4, as numbered in modern editions and most manuscripts of the complete work, but there are also many manuscripts, which are reflected in the authoritative Leonine edition of the work of Thomas Aquinas (*De regno*, ed. Dondaine, pp. 448–71), containing only the First Part, and these have a different chapter division: Book I, Chapters 13–16, of the complete editions are Book II, Chapters 1–4, in these, and Book II, Chapters 1–4, of the complete editions are Book II, Chapters 5–8, in these. The Leonine also combines what the complete editions call Book I, Chapters 1 and 2, so that chapter numbers for chapters of Book I, beginning with Chapter 2, are one lower than those in complete editions, except that the Leonine considers what is Chapter 12 of Book I in complete editions to be two Chapters, 11 and 12. Since it is not possible to use the Leonine division in discussing the complete treatise, the best solution seems to be to adopt the divisions of the complete editions, which is what was also done in the source used here for the First Part: Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by R. Busa, 7 vols (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1980), III, 595–601. I will, however, also give the Leonine citation in parentheses when these differ. For the Second Part I use Tolomeo Fiadoni, *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri*, in Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula omnia necnon opera minora, Tomus Primus: Opuscula philosophica*, ed. by R. P. Joannes Perrier (Paris: Lethielleux, 1949), pp. 221–445, although I have also used another modern edition and two manuscripts, as listed in the bibliography. All translations here are from Ptolemy of Lucca, *On the Government of Rulers (De regimine principum)*, with Portions Attributed to Thomas Aquinas, trans. by James M. Blythe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). Chapter divisions in this translation correspond to those in the Latin editions cited, though paragraph numbering does not, and all citations of paragraph numbers refer to the translation. Thus, a reference to II.6.3 is to Book II, Chapter 6, Paragraph 3. In a few cases I have slightly modified the Blythe translation to correct some errors and infelicities.

There has been much debate about the authorship of this treatise, concentrating chiefly on two questions: Did Tolomeo write the later parts of Book II? And, did Thomas write the parts attributed to him? I will refer to the two parts as ‘Thomas’s part’, and ‘Tolomeo’s part’ or ‘the First Part’ and ‘the Second Part’, without prejudice to the various arguments. The first question was answered to the satisfaction of almost everyone by Alfred O’Rahilly, who used a stylistic analysis to demonstrate that the writing in Book II.4.7 to the end of that book was done by the same person who wrote Books III and IV and that this writing shared essential characteristics with Tolomeo Fiadoni’s other known writings.⁴ The second question is still argued,⁵ though since the appearance of the Leonine edition in 1979 most scholars have accepted Thomas as author of all of Books I through II.4.7.

Recently an unpublished and unfinished early article of Hans Baron, which he called his ‘Ptolemy Paper’, has surfaced that makes a new and startling claim: Tolomeo made extensive revisions to the First Part. In 1976 he sent his manuscript, some eighty-two pages of typed text with handwritten corrections, additions, and deletions, to Professor Ronald Witt of Duke University and suggested that Witt finish it and that they jointly publish it. Witt never followed up on this, and the unfinished manuscript now resides at the Duke University Special Collections Library in boxes 3 and 21 of the Baron Papers Collection.⁶ There it

⁴ Alfred O’Rahilly, ‘Notes on St Thomas: IV, *De regimine principum*; ‘V, Tholomeo of Lucca, Continuator of the *De regimine principum*’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 31(1929), 396–410; 31(1929), 606–14.

⁵ The debate has tended to centre around attempts to discredit Aquinas as author and responses to these attempts. The most convincing argument against Aquinas’s authorship is that of Walter Mohr, ‘Bemerkungen zur Verfasserschaft von *De regimine principum*’, in *Virtus politica*, ed. by Alfons Hufnagel, Joseph Möller, and Helmut Kohlenberger (Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1974), pp. 127–45. Pierre Mandonnet, *Bibliographie thomiste*, especially p. xx, long ago presented the case for Aquinas’s authorship, but added, significantly in light of Hans Baron’s argument that I will discuss, ‘It remains to verify in the manuscripts if the original treatise was not complete, and if the continuator did not modify the general plan in order to make it agree with his own work’, although Mandonnet was not suggesting that this modification might have started within the text of Book I itself. It was this challenge that O’Rahilly, ‘Notes on St Thomas: IV’, p. 398, explicitly set out to answer definitively.

⁶ The Baron documents considered here consist of three parts: a note about Witt’s academic commitments (one page), a note to Witt (the front and back of a single sheet), and the manuscript about Tolomeo itself (eighty-two pages). Because Baron’s numbering of the text is inconsistent, I have numbered the pages of this manuscript sequentially from 1 to 82 to avoid confusion, and will use these numbers in my references to the ‘Ptolemy Paper’, giving Baron’s numbers in parentheses afterward. Baron largely paginated the manuscript by hand, occasionally crossing out

remained without notice until 2001–02, when John La Salle, as part of an undergraduate honours project under Witt’s direction, edited the Baron manuscript and subjected it to a critical analysis. Since then, La Salle and I have collaborated on two articles based on his research, in one of which we considered Baron’s arguments on authorship that I will discuss here.⁷

Baron also argues that Tolomeo spent many years in the composition of this work, during which his views changed considerably, and that his intellectual development resulted in him moving a long way from his early, purely medieval stance to one near, if not identical to, civic humanism. For Baron, laying bare the editorial process whereby Tolomeo allegedly revised chapters in the first part of the treatise and wrote his own part over many years is not a mere academic exercise, but is part of his attempt to prove his equally controversial claim, in light of his later, better-known position regarding the development of civic humanist ideas in the years between Thomas Aquinas’s death in 1274 and Tolomeo’s completion of *De regimine principum* around 1300.⁸ This last claim is important, and it is one I have treated throughout this book, especially in the section bringing together the various strands of material bearing on Tolomeo’s relationship to civic humanism. Here I will look specifically at Baron’s argument about Tolomeo’s editing of Thomas’s part and the process of melding Thomas’s work with his own.

one number and substituting another, though a few numbers are typed. The first eleven pages are numbered with Roman or Roman and Arabic numbers; the rest is numbered sequentially with Arabic numerals from 1 to 67, though there are two page 1s (which are partially two drafts of the same material), two page 2s (containing different material), and pp. 4–7 and 8–11 are two versions of the same text, the last two pages of each section being nearly identical (pp. 4–11 are the only parts of the documents contained in Box 21; I have inserted them between pp. 1–3 and 12–82 because they logically belong there, as drafts of part 2 of the proposed paper). One should bear in mind that, since his article was never finished, it contains some contradictions and some arguments that seem weak or underdeveloped, which he no doubt would have eliminated in the course of completing it. Courtesy of *History of Political Thought*, the Baron documents considered here are available in PDF format at <<http://www.imprint-academic.com/lasalle>>. I added the typed numbers from 1 to 82 in the upper left corner of the ‘Ptolemy Paper’ proper.

⁷ James M. Blythe and John La Salle, ‘Did Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca) Insert “Civic Humanist” Ideas into Thomas Aquinas’s Treatise on Kingship? Reflections on a Newly Discovered Manuscript of Hans Baron’ in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society, and Politics in Renaissance Italy; Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, ed. by David S. Peterson and Daniel E. Bornstein, Essays and Studies, 15 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 93–106, and ‘Was Ptolemy of Lucca a Civic Humanist? Reflections on a Newly Discovered Manuscript of Hans Baron’, *History of Political Thought*, 26 (2005), 236–65. The first article substantially abridges the material in this section.

⁸ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, p. 1 (I).

All modern scholars recognize that the two parts of *De regimine principum* are not seamlessly attached. Walter Mohr saw a further problem with the connection between Book I and the early chapters of Book II.⁹ It would be difficult to argue for a coherent overall plan for *De regimine principum* as it stands, since in the Prologue Thomas announces explicitly that his ‘book’ will concern ‘the origin of the kingdom and what pertains to the office of the king’,¹⁰ whereas after the First Part kingship receives much less attention than other forms of government. Book I begins in a general way by proving the necessity of government and defining the good and bad kinds of government, in the course of which it mentions some of the positive features of non-monarchical rule. This, however, was done only to be comprehensive. The clear foci and greater part of these chapters are the powers and responsibilities of a king, proof that monarchy is the best and most natural form of government, and the necessity of establishing proper safeguards so that kingship will not degenerate into tyranny. At the end of Book I, Chapter 12 (the last chapter of Book I in the manuscripts containing only Thomas’s part), the author writes that he has ‘said many things about a king’ — what a king is, the expediency of kingship, and the necessity to avoid tyranny — then begins Book I, Chapter 13 (Leonine II.1), with the statement: ‘We must now consider what the office of king is and what sort of person a king ought to be.’¹¹ The rest of Book I compares human rule to its perfect model, divine rule, and discusses the role of the king in promoting virtue and providing for and preserving the good life for the multitude. Book I concludes: ‘These are the things that pertain to the office of king, and I must now treat each of them more diligently.’¹²

Book II considers the variety of resources and services that a king must provide for the well-being of a ‘city or kingdom’, some of which, in Thomas’s part, assume that the king is the founder of a new political entity: an appropriate region and climate (1–4; Leonine II.4–II.8), natural and monetary wealth (5–7), good governmental ministers (8–10), and a variety of other things, like fortifications,

⁹ Mohr, ‘Bemerkungen’, p. 129.

¹⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, Prologue: ‘librum de regno conscriberem, in quo et regni originem et ea quae ad regis officium pertinent.’

¹¹ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.12–13 (Leonine I.12–II.1): ‘De rege autem quid sit, et quod expediat multitudini regem habere; adhuc autem quod praesidi expediat se regem multitudini exhibere subiectae, non tyrannum, tanta a nobis dicta sint [...]. Consequens autem ex dictis considerare quid sit regis officium et qualem oporteat esse regem.’ The ellipsis indicates a chapter break, but there are no intervening words.

¹² Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.16.8 (Leonine II.4): ‘Haec igitur sunt quae ad regis officium pertinent, de quibus per singula diligentius tractare oportet.’

roads, coinage, standard weights and measures, welfare for the poor, and support for religion (11–16). Though this book begins with its orientation strictly toward kingship, it shifts to a more general treatment of government and concludes (in Tolomeo's words): 'In this book I have written about what pertains to the good government of lordship, especially regal lordship.'¹³

Book III begins with a new consideration of government in general and God's role in government (1–8), which includes three chapters in the middle (4–6) about the Romans and why God favoured them. In Book III, Chapter 9, Tolomeo began to write about the various kinds of lordship, and having briefly discussed the one universal form — that which God gave to all humans over the natural world including animals in the Garden of Eden — in Chapter 10 he outlines his plan to discuss the four forms of lordship of human over human. These consist of one form that is both regal and sacerdotal, another purely regal (under which he includes imperial rule), political rule, and household rule. Tolomeo disposes of natural rule, regal and political rule, and regal rule in Book III.

Book IV covers political rule, and at the end of Book IV, Tolomeo explains that household rule is so different from the other kinds of rule that it deserves a separate treatise of its own and promises a later work on this subject. He also suggests that he planned to write a work of undetermined size on the virtues appropriate to rulers and rectors governing various kinds of subjects.¹⁴

It is obvious from this that the overall work lacks coherence, though the last two books contain many cross-references that Tolomeo inserted to try to make it seem more unified. However, these are not evenly distributed. In Book III, Chapters 1–8, there are no certain cross-references to Books I and II. It is in Book III, Chapter 9, where the systematic treatment of kinds of lordship begins, that we begin to find such references, though there are only four in Book III that unambiguously refer to earlier books.¹⁵ In Book IV, in contrast, there are many

¹³ *De regimine principum*, II.16.10: 'Haec igitur de pertinentibus ad regimen cuiuscumque dominii, sed praecipue regalis, in hoc libro in tantum sint dicta.'

¹⁴ *De regimine principum*, IV.28.10.

¹⁵ *De regimine principum*, III.9.1 ('lordship that the ancient Fathers were accustomed to have as herders of cattle, which I defined above as natural wealth', a reference to II.6.1, II.6.3), III.9.6 ('If we speak of lordship involving the mode of servile subjection, this was introduced only on account of sin, as I said above', a reference to II.9.4–5), III.11.1 ('But in 1 Kings the laws of a kingdom are handed down more for the utility of the king, as I made clear above, where I quoted those words as clearly pertaining to a servile condition', a reference to II.9.2), III.19.3 ('I said above that the ruler's position in the kingdom is the same as God's in the world and the spirit's in the body', a reference to I.13.3). Though there are a number of other references that could refer to Book I or II, they could also simply be references to earlier parts of Book III.

cross-references to all the preceding books, often explicitly mentioning the number of the earlier book.¹⁶ Were it not for the internal cross-references in Books III and IV to the earlier books, these books could stand on their own as a complete and much more coherent work.

Baron argues that when Tolomeo set out his plan in Book III, Chapter 10, he intended to write an independent political treatise and that he had not yet decided to incorporate Thomas's part, though he may well have already revised it for separate publication, nor had he decided the exact plan or number of books needed. Baron maintains that Book III represents the initial stage of this work, which was to have been about the 'divine parts of dominium' and 'the place of Rome in the divine plan of Roman history'.¹⁷ Some support for this contention may be found in the fact that the books are not divided along the lines of the four forms of lordship; instead, two forms are treated in Book III. Regardless, Tolomeo clearly had a coherent plan in mind, in which an initial treatise on monarchy has no logical place. Book III, Chapter 11, which is itself an analysis of regal government, does not even mention that it is following up an earlier treatment of monarchy, although there is one cross-reference to Book II, Chapter 9. Then, at some time after writing Book III, according to Baron, Tolomeo decided to combine his work with Thomas's, then wrote Book IV at the same time he was completing Book II.¹⁸

Baron extracted what he believed to be Thomas's plan for the rest of his work from material in Book I, Chapters 14 and 16,¹⁹ and then compared this to what is actually done in Book II. What he deduced is that Tolomeo made selective use of Thomas's plan: 'From this comparison it appears immediately that Tolomeo, far from merely composing Book II from material still collected by Aquinas, built up the book from some selected items which could bridge the gulf to his own following work, leaving the rest untouched.' Baron found Tolomeo's general approach to be instructive: he 'limits himself completely to the more concrete aspects of the political life of the state' and ignores the analysis of state as microcosm and the identification of political life with the unity of peace, and shows no interest in 'the education of the multitude by royal punishments and rewards'. He also did not share Thomas's interest in the foundations of new states.²⁰ In working on

¹⁶ Baron discusses these matters, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 57–58 (42–43), 59 (44).

¹⁷ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 60 (45).

¹⁸ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 61 (46).

¹⁹ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 54–55 (39–40).

²⁰ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 56 (41). Baron's manuscript actually reads 'unity of plan' instead of 'unity of peace', but his chart of Thomas's plan on pp. 54–55 (39–40) makes it clear that this is just a typographical error.

Book II, Baron believed, whether or not he had access to Thomas's notes, as some have suggested, Tolomeo adhered closely to the outline that Thomas sketched in his part, but shaped every line with an eye to what would follow in the next two books. Specifically, as all modern readers have noticed, Tolomeo frequently sought to broaden the previous near-exclusive emphasis on kingship, to say, even when this was not necessary, that his argument applied to any government, whether regal or political. The subjects covered in Tolomeo's portion of Book II, especially since they concentrate on concrete tasks of rulers with regard to finances, ministers, infrastructure, and religion, are ones that lend themselves to a discussion of non-monarchical as well as monarchical government, even though Thomas had no idea of going beyond monarchy. As Tolomeo shifted the emphasis, he needed to elaborate the political/despotic dichotomy that would be key to Books III and IV in order to discuss the kinds of ministers needed in the different circumstances. Likewise, Tolomeo was led to the role of the citizen.²¹ Since Book II ends with an implicit statement that the book has been concerned with both regal and political government, one would expect for Tolomeo to have continued with the elaboration of this distinction, perhaps through a discussion of how the two kinds of lordship differ. Instead, we find a new beginning, and the matter of regal versus political rule is sidelined until the beginning of their systematic treatment in Book III, Chapter 10, except for one generic mention in Chapter 3 and one application of the word *political* to the Roman government in Chapter 6.

On the other hand, the fact that in Tolomeo continually introduced the regal/political distinction in Book II, even when this was not necessary, 'can only be explained', according to Baron, 'as a cautious attempt to reconcile the Thomistic fragment with a divergent work already existing in clear shape in the continuator's mind'.²² The only objection to this that Baron can imagine is that such comments could have been added in a final draft of the whole text, but this is obviated by the fact that such reconciliation of discordant text was not done uniformly and is totally lacking in the place we would most expect it — the discontinuity at the beginning of Book III.²³

²¹ See also Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 56–57 (41–42).

²² Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 57–58 (42–43). In *De regimine principum*, II.5.1, at the very beginning of his part, Tolomeo goes so far as to misrepresent Thomas's content when he writes, 'Now that I have itemized the things that are necessary for the substantial being of any civic entity, whether it is a polity or a regal government', when Thomas had not mentioned this distinction at all.

²³ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 58–59 (43–44).

Tolomeo smoothed the transition in another way. The only certain revision of Thomas's part has never been discussed as a revision: the changing of the numbering of its chapters. We know that this must have happened when the whole treatise was put together, since the manuscripts containing only Thomas's part all reflect the Leonine numbering. The changes restricted the specific coverage of kingship to Book I, particularly in its theoretical aspects. Chapters 13–16 (Leonine II.1–4) take up the metaphysical grounding of kingship first raised in Chapters 1 and 3 (Leonine I.2), but abandoned in favour of a more Aristotelian political discussion of kingship. Thomas's part of Book II (Leonine II.4–8) as it stands in the complete work and Tolomeo's continuation of it shifts to the practical aspects of government, something that can easily be applied to non-monarchical government, and in this way paves the way for the switch in Books III and IV to an emphasis on political government. Tolomeo could have easily justified this kind of revision, since he could do it without changing Thomas's words. That he had not already done this when Thomas's part was released for the compilations suggests that Tolomeo had either not yet decided to continue it, or at least how he would continue it.

This conclusion supports Baron's reconstruction of Tolomeo's compositional process, which with some modification I find convincing. One potential objection is the presence of a few cross-references in Book III to Books I and II. However, none of the clear-cut references come before Book III, Chapter 9, that is, not until after Tolomeo had finished Book II, in Baron's theory. His references there, then, could be seen as part of what by then was his plan to finish Book II and include there some points that were to be elaborated in Book III. Supporting evidence comes from an important distinction, which Baron did not make: the citations in Book III all refer vaguely to passages 'above', whereas five of the citations in Book IV explicitly state the book number or numbers to which they refer.²⁴ If Baron is correct that it was only as he began to write Books IV and II that Tolomeo had decided upon a clear outline of his project, it was only then that he would know the detailed arrangement of the material. This would also explain why there was no effort in the opening of Book III to make a transition from Book II, since when Tolomeo wrote it he had not established which text, if any, would immediately precede it. On the other hand, it is disturbing to me that he did not provide any transition to the coming Book III at the end of Book II. If the former were already finished at that point, there would have been no reason not to prepare the reader for what is otherwise an abrupt shift. It is possible that Baron was right in principle

²⁴ *De regimine principum*, IV.1.3, IV.1.8, IV.2.9, IV.7.3, IV.8.3.

but wrong in detail. Tolomeo, on the evidence above, could just as easily have written the first eight chapters of Book III, then written the end of Book III and Book II at the same time (or the end of Book II before the end of Book III), and finally written Book IV. This has the additional advantage of explaining the detailed cross-references in Book IV and the more vague ones in Book III.

However Tolomeo may have hijacked Thomas's purpose, most modern scholars have found Thomas's part to be internally coherent. The one exception is Walter Mohr, who stresses the fact that Book I could be read as a self-contained treatise. For him, the transitional statement at the end of Book I — 'These are the things that pertain to the office of king, and I must now treat each of them more diligently' — seem clumsy and betray the absence of an organic connection with Book II, which never fulfil this promise.²⁵ To a modern scholar this does seem odd; we would expect a writer to go on to analyse perhaps the institutions of a monarchy or the practical ways that a king can ensure the success of his rule. To a medieval mind the transition would be more natural: after the author finished discussing the theoretical aspects of monarchy he then went on to itemize the material resources needed for a successful state. Had Thomas finished his treatise, he doubtless would have gone on to treat the mechanics of government, as Tolomeo did. He would not, of course, have shifted the focus to other forms of government, although he doubtless would have discussed the mixed constitutional aspects of the best monarchy. The fact that there is no surviving manuscript consisting solely of Book I indicates fairly conclusively that the author intended the sequence of topics as it stands.

The manuscript evidence refutes another theory that is reasonable *a priori*. Perhaps Tolomeo both completed Thomas's part (with or without interpolations) and wrote Books III and IV, but with no intention of combining the two projects, at least at first. Later, he, or someone else, decided to put them together and added the cross-references in Books III and IV to Books I and II. There are no manuscripts to support this, but it is not simply a matter of cross-references: as Baron has shown, whole sections of Book II were consciously designed to anticipate Books III and IV, in a way that suggests an evolutionary process rather than a later one-time revision.

In my reading, one could see Books II through IV as a coherent work. Book II analyses the factors necessary for a successful government, beginning with the geography and climate, then moves on to natural and manufactured wealth, governmental officials, defensive structures, roads, coinage, weights and measures,

²⁵ Mohr, 'Bemerkungen', p. 129.

welfare, and religion. Religion provides the transition to Book III, which begins with a discussion of God's role in government and then illustrates this role, most extensively with ancient Roman politics. At this point Tolomeo initiates the analysis of the various forms of human lordship, which takes up the rest of the treatise. In short, the only arrangement that could not easily be portrayed as coherent is the actual one of Books I through IV. The clear explanation of this is the accepted one, that Tolomeo decided to complete Thomas's treatise while at the same time remaining true to his own ideas.

There remain several controversies concerning dating and authorship. What sections, if any, that Thomas wrote remains the subject of debate, and Walter Mohr has even questioned some of the material O'Rahilly attributed to Tolomeo, although I and most other scholars find O'Rahilly's analysis to be definitive.²⁶ Further, there is no consensus on the identity of the king to whom the treatise was dedicated or on what occasion.²⁷

The date of the First Part is also still in question. Assuming that Thomas was not the author, Mohr suggested dates ranging from 1218 to 1277.²⁸ Early dates pose many problems, including several unambiguous references to Aristotle's *Politics*, which was not available in Latin until the 1260s. This part is more dependent upon the *Ethics*, which was available much earlier, and the references to the *Politics* could be interpolations or from the portions that were known somewhat earlier, but this is unlikely. There are also passages similar to ones in Thomas's *Summa theologiae* and *Summa contra gentiles*, though this in itself proves neither Thomas's authorship nor the priority of his other works. All in all, the most likely dates for composition are the 1260s or 1270s. In 1992, Christoph Flüeler argued convincingly that Thomas wrote the First Part at the very end of his career, 1271–73, at the same time he was writing *Summa theologiae*, and this view is gaining acceptance.²⁹

Assuming that Thomas did write the treatise, the most likely candidates for the dedicatee are Hugo (Hugh) II (1253–67), whose death at the age of seventeen could explain why the treatise was never finished or sent, or, as now seems more

²⁶ Mohr, 'Bemerkungen', p. 133.

²⁷ See Mohr, 'Bemerkungen', pp. 140–42.

²⁸ Mohr, 'Bemerkungen', pp. 141–42.

²⁹ Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation*, I, 23–29. Flüeler compares the use of Aristotle's *Politics* in many of Thomas's works and concludes that he did not know Books V–VIII until 1271. Since *De regimine principum* refers to these books several times, Thomas must have written it between 1271 and 1273. Flüeler's conclusion implies that the doctrines found in *De regimine principum* reflect Thomas's late thought, contrary to what has often been believed.

likely, his successor Hugo III (1267–84).³⁰ In Cyprus, a period of chaos followed the 1233 adoption of the Assizes of Jerusalem, which made political power dependent upon the feudal lords, but eventually a strong, centralized monarchy emerged. A papal letter of 1264 describes how Hugo II had arrested a number of feudal lords ‘in the public interest’, as part of this process.³¹ By 1286, King Henry II was able to establish peace and internal order, thereby achieving absolute power in the kingdom. One could easily imagine that Aquinas originally planned *De regimine principum*, with its pro-monarchical statements tempered with strong cautions against tyranny, to be written as a gift to a king in the middle of this progression toward a stronger monarchy.

Objective internal evidence dates the completion of Tolomeo’s part to between 1298 and 1305. The text mentions Emperor Albert I of Habsburg (r. 1298–1308)³² and states that 270 years ‘or thereabouts’ had elapsed since the crowning of Emperor Conrad II (1027 in reality, but 1030 according to Tolomeo),³³ so if he had written it after 1305 he certainly would have said 280 years or thereabout, even if he was rounding only to the nearest decade. More subjective reading has suggested a date between 1301 and 1303 to Schmeidler and others. Schmeidler believed that Tolomeo’s comments in II.13.13 on the German monetary situation could only have come from his trip to Cologne in 1301, but this is quite tenuous, as I discussed in Chapter 4, above. He also believed that Tolomeo would not have written so glowingly of the glories of the papacy after ‘the Outrage of Anagni’ of 1303, when the French kidnapped and humiliated Boniface VIII.³⁴ This is also dubious, since hierocratic treatises continued to flourish in the early fourteenth century, and a crisis such as this one often served as a stimulus for the papalists to rally the believers. Boniface VIII issued his most stringent statement of papal supremacy, *Unam sanctam*, in 1302, when things were going badly, though admittedly before Anagni. I do not believe that we can definitively narrow the date of composition further than the range of late 1298 (Albert was not even elected emperor until 27 July) to 1305. However, I think it is likely that Tolomeo com-

³⁰ Hugo II has most often been proposed, but this cannot stand if Flüeler’s argument proves to be correct, as now seems likely.

³¹ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, p. 50 (35).

³² *De regimine principum*, III.20.2.

³³ *De regimine principum*, III.19.1.

³⁴ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xxxi n. 2. See also Davis, ‘Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic’, p. 38 n. 45. While Davis also was skeptical of some of Schmeidler’s arguments, he thought that his proposed date range was probably correct.

pleted it in 1302–03, after returning to Lucca from Florence in 1302, since in my reading he was influenced by the struggles of the French king and pope in the early fourteenth century, the tumultuous situation in Florence in 1301–02, and his interactions in Florence with Remigio dei Girolami and others.

None of these dates precludes Tolomeo working on the treatise over a long period and making alterations as his changing ideas and experience dictated. Baron took the extreme view that Tolomeo began writing before 1282, because Tolomeo's comment in Book IV, Chapter 8, about Gauls who went to Sicily with Charles of Anjou could not have been written after 1282, the date of the Sicilian Vespers.³⁵ After the French were driven out in 1283, Baron believed, no one could say that they had soaked up the native character 'in our own times'.³⁶ This is not convincing to me, since if Tolomeo believed that the French immigrants had taken on a Sicilian nature by 1282, he would have been perfectly capable of reporting this twenty years later, even though they had subsequently been driven out. I see nothing of the early Tolomeo of *De iurisdictione imperii* in *De regimine principum* that would suggest a remodelled work, and I believe that he wrote it in at most a few years, perhaps beginning it in Florence in 1301–02.

A separate question is when Tolomeo decided to create the merged four-book work. Baron cites the point about the German economy to argue that this happened shortly after Tolomeo's trip of 1301, since the comments appear in the transitional material of Book II.³⁷ While the general order of writing that Baron proposes seems reasonable, I see no reason for this particular dating. Even if Tolomeo's knowledge of Germany came from his 1301 trip, he could have added this detail at any time, as Baron is eager to suggest he did in other cases. I can find no internal evidence to show conclusively when Tolomeo made his decision. Most likely, as I have said, the heated political situation in Florence during his tenure as Prior of Santa Maria Novella (1301–02) provided a stimulating environment for finishing a republican political treatise.

Finally, we come to the most problematic aspect of the treatise: the authorship of the First Part. As I already mentioned, the Leonine edition of 1979 convinced most scholars that it was Thomas's authentic work, and I will devote most of the discussion here to Baron's claim that Tolomeo inserted material into it.

However, some scholars still continue to challenge Thomas's authorship. In the influential 1992 *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1550*, Antony Black

³⁵ *De regimine principum*, IV.8.3.

³⁶ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 76 (61).

³⁷ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 59 (44).

claims that it is fairly certain that Thomas wrote none of the treatise, with the possible exception of Book I, Chapter 1.³⁸ In a letter to me Professor Black wrote that he based his opinion on ‘the fundamental differences in both literary (and indeed intellectual) style and opinion between *De regimine principum* and the work of Aquinas’. Stylistically, this treatise is quite different from the great *Summae* and commentaries for which Thomas is chiefly famous, but it is a very different kind of work. I see nothing in the style of the work that argues strongly against Thomas’s authorship, and Black offered no examples of what stimulated his near-certainty, but it would take a close analysis of Thomas’s style and word usage, particularly in his authentic occasional pieces, to refute or confirm Black’s intuition. I have argued elsewhere that the political thought in it is compatible with Thomas’s other writings, though there are some curious omissions. Baron has since raised my suspicions about a few passages, but these are ones that he believes to be interpolations.

Walter Mohr, who launched the most convincing attack on Thomas’s authorship in 1974, three years before the Leonine edition, based his conclusions both on an analysis of the manuscript tradition and on the ideological content. Several of his points are perceptive, but insufficiently convincing to overcome the scholarly consensus and still other manuscript evidence.

Mohr argues that there was always confusion about authorship. Book II, he claims, is even more questionable in that it lacks connection to Book I, it is internally confused, and its very existence contradicts references to a single ‘Book’ by Thomas on kingship. It must, therefore, be the product of several unknown authors. Mohr believes that Tolomeo wrote only Books III and IV, which do, he thinks, form a coherent whole. He explains that Tolomeo must have had Books I and II available to him as he wrote, but that he never intended to continue it, but rather to write an independent treatise.

Some of these points are more defensible than others. Early manuscripts and comments by Tolomeo and others about Thomas’s writings do not decisively settle the issue. Numerous manuscripts attribute this portion to Thomas, but Mohr’s attempt to discredit these is plausible, if, in my opinion, weaker than the opposing argument. Book II is somewhat confused and lurches awkwardly from topic to topic, but the chasm between it and Book I is not impassible, as I have argued previously.

With regard to ideological content, Mohr argues that the approach, assumptions, and conclusions of Book I are incompatible with those found in Thomas’s

³⁸ Black, *Political Thought in Europe*, p. 22.

indisputably authentic writings. His most compelling point is that the emphasis on law and the linking of the common good to law, found in all of Thomas's other works, is lacking here.³⁹ It seems doubtful that Thomas would leave out something so important to him in his only systematic political treatise. Another omission, which Mohr does not mention, is the distinction between regal and political power, which Thomas emphasizes in his *In octo libros politicorum Aristotelis expeditio*, and which Tolomeo modified and made central to his thought. On the other hand, I believe that the kind of government for which the author of the First Part argues is quite similar to what Thomas advocates in *Summa theologiae*, namely a limited monarchy in which the king's power is 'tempered' by that of others.

Tolomeo himself provided support for Thomas's authorship. Most decisively, Tolomeo in two of his treatises specifically names Thomas as the proponent of certain positions that appear only in the First Part of *De regimine principum*, and in one of the instances explicitly cites *De regimine principum* as the source of the opinion.⁴⁰ Assuming that Flüeler was correct on the dating of the Thomas part, it was written at a time when Tolomeo was with Thomas.⁴¹ Even if the earlier dates are correct, Tolomeo was likely to have been with Thomas in Rome. Given this, Tolomeo would have been in a strong position to certify Thomas's authorship from firsthand experience. In his listing of Thomas's minor works in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* he includes 'a treatise *De regimine principum*', which begins thus: "When I was pondering what I could offer," which book he wrote to the King of Cyprus,⁴² and mentions that it, among other shorter works of Thomas written at the request of others, 'were placed in one volume, like the letters of Augustine'.⁴³ Several of these manuscripts survive from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and many from a later time.

The congruence of what Tolomeo wrote with what has come down to us is strong support for its authenticity. However, some have called attention to the fact that Tolomeo refers here to Thomas's work as a book (*librum*), which in the Middle Ages

³⁹ Mohr, 'Bemerkungen', pp. 135–40.

⁴⁰ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, p. 472b.

⁴¹ Since Flüeler based his dating on a comparison of *De regimine principum* with Thomas's other works of known date, his dating does not work if Thomas did not write it. But in any case Tolomeo would have been in a good position to know if Thomas wrote it.

⁴² *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.13, col. 1171: 'Item tractatus de regimine principum, qui sic incipit: Cogitanti michi quid offerem, quem librum scripsit ad regem Cypri'.

⁴³ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIII.11, col. 1170: 'Scripsit tamen quedam opuscula secundum consultationes sibi factas diversis principibus et personis, que in uno volumine reponuntur sicut epistole Augustini.'

generally referred to a subdivision of a longer work or a short undivided work rather than to a long work itself. That Tolomeo in this same reference specifies the incipit correctly and in *De iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae* cites verbatim a passage from Book I, Chapter 15 (Leonine II.3),⁴⁴ make it clear that he was referring to the same treatise we have today. To me, his usage of ‘book’ is not in itself problematic, since Tolomeo himself sometimes used the word in the modern sense,⁴⁵ and, in any case, the treatise as it was published in Tolomeo’s lifetime did contain only one complete book. Thomas himself refers to his work as a ‘librum’ in the Prologue, despite the fact that all surviving versions have two books.

The passage in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* shows that Tolomeo did not intend to pass off the whole work as Thomas’s, since otherwise he surely would not have used the word *book*, which at least suggests a short work, and since no one would believe that the complete sixty-thousand-word treatise could be one section of a compilation of many short and occasional works, though the fourteen-thousand-word First Part could be. The existence of the published compilation and Tolomeo’s mention of it in what he expected to be a standard church history would render any attempt to pass off the complete treatise as Thomas’s work seemingly impossible, though strangely this is what many believed for centuries. More puzzling are the questions of why Tolomeo, writing over ten years after the completion of the entire treatise, did not call Thomas’s part incomplete and why he did not say that he had completed it. This is especially bothersome when we consider that just before the reference to *De regimine principum* Tolomeo states that Thomas left his commentaries on Aristotle’s *De caelo*, *De generatione*, and *Politics* unfinished, but that his faithful disciple Pierre d’Auvergne finished them. And finally, why, if he had no scruples about making interpolations when editing Thomas’s work for the compilation, as Baron claims, did he not at least finish the sentence fragment with which Thomas’s part ends.

According to H.-F. Dondaine, thirty-one out of fifty-one surviving manuscripts and incunabula of *De regimine principum* contain only the Aquinas parts, and in all of them the text is essentially the same as that in the twenty manuscripts

⁴⁴ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, p. 472b.

⁴⁵ Just to give some examples from *De regimine principum*, in III.4.3 and IV.4.11 Tolomeo refers to Cicero’s ‘book’ *De officiis*, and in III.16.6 and IV.4.6 to Aulus Gellius’s ‘book’ *Attic Nights*, both of which contain many books. There is even an example of this in Thomas’s part, I.16.12, where the author refers to Julius Caesar’s ‘book’ on the Gallic war. In all cases the word used is *librum*, or an inflected form of that word, and the last example even contains the words ‘in libro quem de bello Gallico scripsit’, in which the ‘quem’ proves that the singular could not have been just an artefact of improper expansion of an abbreviation.

containing the four books of the entire work. Forty years earlier O’Rahilly made the same point on the basis of fewer manuscripts and concluded that ‘apart from chapter headings [...] there has been no interpolation or revision by the continuator’.⁴⁶ This manuscript evidence makes it difficult, but not impossible, to see how Baron could make a case for just such interpolations having taken place. Baron never even mentions the manuscript evidence, but he does provide an unexamined conclusion that would explain it: that Tolomeo made the revisions soon after Thomas’s death.

It was what he saw as internal inconsistencies that led Baron to consider the possibility of interpolation. Thomas explicitly intended to write a treatise on kingship⁴⁷ but, according to Baron, as it stands, the text shifts ‘emphasis too much to Monarchy, Tyranny, and other possible forms of government’, with occasional inappropriate praise of republicanism. Through textual analysis, Baron hoped to identify ‘sutures and scissures inside of chapters where the reviser included new material, trying to shift the emphasis within the original scheme’.⁴⁸ Baron found expressions of republicanism, support for the Roman Republic in particular, and papalism that are characteristic of Tolomeo, but anachronistic in his opinion for the time when the treatise was supposedly written.

Baron’s strongest case is for additions to Book I, Chapter 5, where the author uses historical examples from the Roman Republic and ancient Hebrew government to warn against the double danger of either fearing a tyrant so much as to avoid the best form of government — kingship — or to allow a king to degenerate into a tyrant.⁴⁹ The examples, Baron asserts, are not parallel, they do not support this conclusion, and the description of the Roman Republic, contrary to the thesis of the treatise, generates a ‘climate of criticism, if not hostility, against the historical effects of Monarchy’.⁵⁰ The Hebrew example describes the travails of the people under the Judges, when the people resisted monarchy, and their further travails after the kings they eventually accepted became tyrants. A similar point could have been made about Rome: the early kings became tyrants, but then

⁴⁶ Dondaine, introduction to *De regno*, and O’Rahilly, ‘Notes on St Thomas: IV’; the quotation is on p. 398.

⁴⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, Prologue.

⁴⁸ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, pp. 7 (II.2), 11 (II.2).

⁴⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, 1.5.7 (Leonine 1.4): ‘Utrinque igitur pericula imminent, siue dum timetur tyrannus euitetur regis optimum regimen, siue dum hoc desideratur potestas regia in malitiam tyrannicam conuertatur.’

⁵⁰ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, pp. 15–16 (2–3).

the Republic in its hostility to kingship fell into civil wars, to be rescued by the monarchy of the emperors, who themselves may eventually have become tyrants. Although there is the skeleton of this argument in the text, there is also material that works against it. Further, the author of this passage uses Sallust in the way Tolomeo, but no one else at the time, did, and the views about the Roman Republic are likewise those of Tolomeo.⁵¹ Baron argues that an extended passage in this chapter (here in italics) is a later interpolation and that removing it would resolve all these inconsistencies:

After the people had expelled the kings, whose royal, or rather, tyrannical, arrogance they could not bear, they wanted to change the kingdom into an aristocracy and so instituted for themselves consuls and other magistrates. *These began to govern and direct them, and, as Sallust reports: It is incredible to relate how the Roman city grew in a short time once liberty had been achieved'. It often happens that persons living under a king strive for the common good rather sluggishly; inasmuch as they reckon that that which they devote to the common good does not benefit themselves but the king, under whose power they see the common goods to be. But when they see that the common good is not in the power of one, each attends to it as if it were their own, not as if it were something pertaining to someone else. For this reason experience seems to show that one city administrated by rectors chosen for a year can sometimes do more than one king who has three or four cities, and small services that kings extract weigh more heavily than those weights imposed by the community of citizens.* This was true throughout the Roman Republic. Plebeians were signed up for the military and paid for being in the military, and when the public treasury did not suffice for the payroll, private wealth came into public use, so much so that even the senate kept no gold except that each senator kept his ring and bulla, the insignia of his dignity. But when they were worn out by the continual dissensions which escalated into civil wars — during which, liberty, for which they were very zealous, was ripped from their hands — they came under the powers of the emperors. From the beginning the emperors were unwilling to be called kings, because the title was odious to the Romans. Some of them procured the common good faithfully, as it was the true royal custom, and through their zeal the Roman Republic was increased and preserved. But most of them were tyrants to their subjects yet idle and feeble toward their enemies, and these led the Roman Republic to naught.⁵²

⁵¹ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 30–31 (16–17).

⁵² Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, 1.5.2–5 (Leonine 1.4): 'Horum quidem exemplum euidenter appetit in Romana republica. Regibus enim a populo Romano expulsis, dum regnum uel potius tyrannicum fastum ferre non possent, instituerunt sibi consules et alios magistratus, per quos regi ceperunt et dirigi, regnum in aristocratiam commutare uolentes: et sicut refert Salustius, "incredibile est memoratu quantum adepta libertate in breui Romana ciuitas creuerit." Plerumque namque contingit ut homines sub rege uiuentes, segnius ad bonum commune nitantur, utpote estimantes id quod ad commune bonum impendunt, non sibi ipsis conferre, sed alteri sub cuius potestate uident esse bona communia. Cum vero bonum commune non uident esse in potestate unius, non attendunt ad bonum commune quasi ad id quod est alterius, sed quilibet attendit ad

Sallust was widely known, and frequently cited for his moral and ethical wisdom and the virtue of the ancient Romans, which made contemporaries at least cognizant of the achievements of the Roman Republic, even if they still tended to discount it and praise the empire.⁵³ Thomas himself refers to Sallust's *Cataline War*, the source of the quotation, two more times in Book I (on the vice of ambition) and nine times in *Summa theologiae*.⁵⁴ Augustine quotes this very passage from Sallust, so it would not be unthinkable for Thomas to have made the connection to republicanism. Augustine also refers to the reduction of the senators' wealth to ring and bulla, though neither the passage quoted nor Baron's discussion of it cites Augustine.⁵⁵ There is a notable difference, however, in the way *De regimine principum* uses the passage: Augustine's depiction of Rome is largely negative and treats the necessity of the senatorial sacrifice as another sign of the pitiable state of the republic. *De regimine principum*, Book I, Chapter 5, in contrast, praises the resourcefulness, virtue, and courage of the Roman people. Such a reversal of Augustine's message was characteristic of Tolomeo, almost uniquely at this time, and not elsewhere of Thomas.⁵⁶ This is strong support for Baron's argument, although the lack of explicit reference to Augustine, which Tolomeo normally included, makes it more questionable.

illud sicut ad suum; unde experimento uidetur quod una ciuitas per annuos rectores amministrata plus potest interdum quam rex aliquis si haberet tales tres uel quattuor ciuitates, paruaque seruitia exacta a regibus grauius feruntur quam magna onera, si a communitate ciuium imponantur. Quod in promotione Romane republike seruatum fuit. Nam plebs ad militiam scribebatur et pro militantibus stipendia exsoluebat, et cum stipendiis exsoluendis non sufficeret commune erarium, in usus publicos opes uenere priuatos, adeo ut preter singulos annulos aureos singulasque bullas, que erant dignitatis insignia, nichil sibi auri ipse etiam senatus reliquerit. Sed tamen dissensionibus fatigabatur continuis, que usque ad bella ciuilia excreuerunt; quibus bellis ciuibibus eis libertas ad quam multum studuerant de manibus erupta est, et sub potestate imperatorum esse ceperunt, qui se reges appellare a principio noluerunt quia Romanis fuerat nomen regium odiosum. Horum autem quidam more regio bonum commune fideliter procurauerunt, per quorum studium Romana respublica et aucta et conseruata est plurimi uero eorum in subditos quidem tyranni, ad hostes uero effecti desides et imbecilles, Romanam rempublicam ad nichil redegerunt.'

⁵³ See Beryl Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages', in *Classical Influences on European Cultures, A.D. 500–1500*, ed. by R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 165–75.

⁵⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.8.4, I.8.6 (Leonine 1.7); *Summa theologiae*, I-II.24.3 arg. 1; I-II.59.2 arg. 3; II-II.29.3 co.; II-II.30.3 arg. 1; II-II.30.3 ad 1; II-II.131.1 ad 3; II-II.157.2 ad 2; II-II.181.2 ad 2; II-II.32.3 ad 2.

⁵⁵ Augustine, *City of God*, v.12, iii.19.

⁵⁶ Davis, 'Ptolemy of Lucca', pp. 33–34.

It would not be contrary to Thomas's stated argument to say that the Roman Republic flourished when good government replaced tyranny, even if this was not the best form. However, the denigration of even a good monarchy as a form that can stimulate a reluctance to contribute and the preference for law imposed by the whole community does seem irreconcilable with the argument.

The republican orientation of the suspect passage is not in itself, however, anachronistic for the period. Baron admits that similar ideas may have circulated in Tuscany, and he himself provides a remarkable example contemporary to Aquinas and similar in some ways to the suspect passage. The northern Italian Franciscan Bonaventura wrote in 1273: 'As long as the Romans chose those who were in charge, they chose the wisest men and then the republic was guided well. But after they adopted succession, it was completely destroyed.'⁵⁷ This demonstrates the same combination of Roman republicanism and suspicion of hereditary monarchy in favour of election found in Book I, Chapter 5. Bonaventura was not known for his political thought and so was probably repeating widely held ideas. If so, Aquinas may also have been exposed to them, though we would be more likely to hear them from a Tuscan like Tolomeo. Baron dismisses the similarity, writing that Bonaventura was unable to 'wring any clear idea of the *Respublica* out of the phantastic medieval legends'. Ignoring the republican tenor of the remarks, and Bonaventura's citation of Aristotle on tyranny and the common good, Baron complains that Bonaventura attributed the election of Emperor Diocletian to the devil and treated biblical and Roman history equally.⁵⁸ This is

⁵⁷ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 46 (31); Bonaventura, *Collationes in hexamera*, v.19, in *Opera omnia*, 10 vols (Quaracchi: S. Bonaventurae, 1882–1902), v, 357. Here is a longer passage that concludes with the quotation in the text: 'However, today a great abomination exists in those who are in charge because there is no rector in the ship unless he knows the art of guiding. In what way, therefore, is one imposed on a republic who does not know how to govern? For this reason when rulers are in charge by succession they rule the republic badly. David was most holy; Solomon, although luxurious, was however wise; Roboam was stupid because he divided the kingdom. The Romans through diabolic art chose Diocletian [...] who afterward did much evil. For this reason as long as the Romans chose those who were in charge, they chose the wisest men and then the republic was guided well governed. But after they adopted succession, it was completely destroyed' (Tamen hodie magna abominatio est in his qui praesunt, quia in navi non ponitur rector, nisi habeat artem gubernandi; quomodo ergo in republica ponitur ille qui nescit regere? Unde quando per successionem praesunt, male regitur respublica. David fuit sanctissimus; Salomon, etsi lubrissimus, tamen sapiens; Roboam stultus, quia divisit regnum. Romani per artem diaboli elegerunt Diocletianum [...] qui postmodum multa mala fecit. Unde quamdiu Romani illos qui praeescent, elegerunt, sapientissimos elegerunt; et tunc bene gubernata est respublica; sed postquam ad successionem venerunt, totum fuit destructum).'

⁵⁸ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 46–47 (31–32).

reminiscent of the strained argument Baron would later make in *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* that Tolomeo never could see beyond his medieval origins and so could have nothing in common with the civic humanists. The last point is even stranger here considering that in the same manuscript Baron treats Tolomeo's reinterpretation of biblical texts as a necessary part of his emergence from the medieval outlook.

Another argument against Tolomeo's interpolation is the treatment of the Hebrew Judges. In I.5.6 they are bad rulers under whom the Hebrew people were 'ravaged [...] on all sides', since the Judges 'did "what was good in their own eyes"' instead of following the common good. But in Tolomeo's part, they are beneficial political rulers whose reign unfortunately ended when the people foolishly demanded a king.⁵⁹ Since the only reason for the alleged insertion about the Roman Republic, when it had not even been attacked, was to praise political rule, one might expect Tolomeo to rise to the Judges' defence. Tolomeo often tried to connect passages in Book I to his current point. He was not entirely successful, but he was able to maintain a semblance of consistency by reiterating that monarchy in the abstract was good, but then showing how various empirical reasons made it bad. Here, however, there is a clear contradiction, and all he would have had to do to reconcile the problem (at least in part, since Tolomeo did not even consider the appointment of the first king as good) was to have interpolated a comment similar to one he made in his part that although the Judges were good, when Samuel was old, 'his sons were not exercising just lordship [...] as the other judges of this people had done'.⁶⁰ This would have had the additional advantage of coordinating the two insertions and making the chapter seem more consistent in allowing for a good aristocratic government.

Despite these counterarguments, the fact remains that the passage does clash with the purpose of the chapter, and the particular ideas in the 'interpolation' are ones we associate with Tolomeo and with no other contemporary.

Baron detected a second interpolation, again of republican ideas, into the 'eulogy of Monarchy' in Book I, Chapter 7, whose subject is how to keep monarchy from degenerating into tyranny.⁶¹ Although Baron admits that Thomas Aquinas could have written most of the material on tyranny, he is wary of two 'anachronistic' references to Roman history.⁶² The text 'reveals an early but still

⁵⁹ *De regimine principum*, II.8.2.

⁶⁰ *De regimine principum*, II.9.2.

⁶¹ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 23–25 (9–11), 31–36 (17–22).

⁶² Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.7.7–9 (Leonine, I.6).

uncritical interest in Roman history that is again quite unlike Aquinas', and Baron also suspects the assumption there that the people elected Tarquin and the Senate Domitian. These 'strange' readings, fundamentally different from other medieval accounts, reveal, especially in the Domitian case, 'the mind of a historian who read into his source what he believed ought to have been sound functioning of the Roman government'.⁶³ The passage suggests that the emperors were bound in some constitutional relationship to the Senate, and even relies on the Senate, not the next emperor, to revoke Domitian's unjust decrees. Only one contemporary, according to Baron, placed this 'senatorial shadow beside the imperial light': Tolomeo Fiadoni.⁶⁴ The idea that a 'multitude' might have the right to choose a king, as well as some ideas about resisting tyranny and 'tempering' monarchy, suggest to Baron someone steeped in republicanism, especially in a passage already suspect.⁶⁵

The discussion of the Senate does seem much more akin to Tolomeo's mentality than to Thomas's, but it is compatible with Thomas's thought, though the examples are unusual for him. But once the subject of Tarquin's deposition came up he may have been searching for a way to address what was generally seen as a beneficial change, by stressing the role of a public authority. He may have been inspired by Augustine, who wrote that the Romans 'made him king', which could suggest election.⁶⁶ We have seen that Bonaventura implied that 'the Romans' elected some of the emperors, and Thomas himself in *Summa theologiae* endorses an elective role for the people in the Hebrew mixed constitution.⁶⁷ Baron claims that removing offending passages would restore coherence,⁶⁸ but I think that these passages actually fit in well with Thomas's stated plan. After considering the proper establishment of kings and the dangers of the public acting against a tyrant, the author asks whether it is ever justifiable to remove a tyrant and concludes that this could happen if there were a competent public authority. He then considers two types of such authority: 'some multitude' or a 'superior', who could rightly do this if and only if that authority had the right to choose the king in the first place. He gives examples for both cases and concludes with a plea for the forbearance

⁶³ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', pp. 32–33 (18–19).

⁶⁴ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 34 (20).

⁶⁵ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 36 (22).

⁶⁶ Augustine, *City of God*, III.15: 'Nam scelus occisi ab eo socii optimi regis sui usque adeo contempserunt, ut eum regem suum facerent.'

⁶⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, I-II.105.1: 'ad populum pertinet electio principum'.

⁶⁸ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 36 (22).

and trust in God, the only viable recourse when a public authority does not exist. This is a typical scholastic argument, and if the examples are somewhat strained, this also is typical when there are no obvious choices.

A close look at the examples shows that the author was exploiting several meanings of the word *multitude*. It often refers to the whole people in this treatise, but it could also mean any group of people or things functionally related, for example, the multitude of the free, servants, warriors, subjects, bodily members, and those who exercise lordship.⁶⁹ Both Roman examples illustrate the proper action of a multitude. In the first case, ‘the Romans ejected Tarquin the Proud whom they had elevated as king’. The second case is phrased differently: ‘Thus also the senate killed Domitian.’⁷⁰ Although the author does not explicitly say who elected him, the Senate is clearly acting as a public authority, and the parallel construction and the ‘thus also’ suggest that the Senate in this case is the ‘multitude’, leaving the other option, ‘superior’, to refer to the situation in which the emperor or pope, for example, had the right to appoint a subordinate king. Given the wide range of meaning of the word *multitude*, and its compatibility with the mixed constitutionalism of *Summa theologiae*, its use by Thomas fails to reveal uncharacteristic republicanism.

For Baron, support for insertions also comes from a discrepancy between what he calls the chapter’s ‘preamble’ and its content. The preamble is actually the fourth through the sixth sentences of the chapter:

Thereafter, the governance of the kingdom must be so disposed as to remove the occasion of tyranny from the king who had been instituted. At the same time his power should also be tempered, so that he can not easily decline into tyranny. In what follows I will consider how these things may come about.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.2.1, I.2.3, I.6.2, I.3.4 (Leonine I.1, I.5, I.2); *De regimine principum*, III.1.3.

⁷⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.7.8 (Leonine I.6): ‘Primo quidem, si ad ius multitudinis alicuius pertineat sibi providere de rege, non iniuste ab eadem rex institutus potest destitui vel refrenari eius potestas, si potestate regia tyrannice abutatur. Nec putanda est talis multitudo infideliter agere tyrannum destituens, etiam si eidem in perpetuo se ante subiecerat: quia hoc ipse meruit, in multitudinis regimine se non fideliter gerens ut exigit regis officium, quod ei pactum a subditis non reservetur. Sic Romani Tarquinium superbum, quem in regem suscepserant, propter eius et filiorum tyrannidem a regno eiecerunt, substituta minori, scilicet consulari, potestate. Sic etiam Domitianus, qui modestissimis imperatoribus Vespasiano patri et Tito fratri eius successerat, dum tyrannidem exercet, a senatu Romano interemptus est.’

⁷¹ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.7.2 (Leonine I.6): ‘Deinde sic disponenda est regni gubernatio, ut regi iam instituto tyrannidis subtrahatur occasio. Simul etiam sic eius temperetur

Baron's objection is that the chapter does not do this. The Roman examples are the only reference to tempering; otherwise, the emphasis is on enduring tyranny. Baron thought that the most likely explanation is that Tolomeo inserted 'ideas into the preamble of the chapter and further on elaborated them with a few characteristic examples of his vision of the liberty and rights of the Roman people to resistance'. He was also dubious about the contrast between the tempering of or resistance to monarchy and the conclusion's expression of the Augustinian belief that tyranny arises from the people's sin and is a punishment from God: 'Should we think that it was one and the same author who phrased these cautious warnings within the frame of a eulogy of Monarchy and also, at the beginning of the chapter, pointed out the need for provision and active resistance?'⁷²

As reasonable as this sounds, it hinges on dubious assumptions. Though the chapter heading as it appears in complete editions of the treatise describes the chapter as it stands by mentioning both the removal of the occasion for tyranny and the necessity to endure it, the heading found in manuscripts of the first part alone refers only to provision to keep the king from falling into tyranny.⁷³ If anything, this could suggest the opposite of Baron's interpretation — that the sections on enduring tyranny were interpolations. Though this is unlikely, Thomas came close to endorsing tyrannicide in works written both before and (possibly) after this one. The 'preamble' is only part of a passage that also mentions the proper choice of a king, and the promise of more on tempering may refer to a later part of the treatise that was never finished rather than to the immediately succeeding words.

More significantly, the ideas of tempering, the differences in governments arising from differences in the constituting authorities, and the right or non-right to overthrow a tyrant are ones that Aquinas discusses elsewhere.⁷⁴ Baron realized that Aquinas supported a mixed constitution in *Summa theologiae*, but he assumed that at the earlier stage represented by *De regimine principum*, he was a strict monarchist. Even if Flüeler is wrong that *De regimine principum* is a late work, Aquinas expressed a stronger right to resistance as early as the *Scriptum*

potestas, ut in tyrannidem de facili declinare non possit, quae quidem quomodo fiant, in sequentibus considerandum erit. Demum uero curandum est, si rex in tyrannidem diuerteret, qualiter posset occurri.'

⁷² Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 25 (originally numbered 12; crossed out and replaced with 11).

⁷³ Dondaine, introduction to *De regno*, p. 447.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 47–58. On tempering, see Thomas Aquinas, *In octo libros politicorum Aristotelis expositio*, ed. by R. M. Spiazzi (Rome: Marietti, 1966), II.7 (p. 245).

super Sententiis (1256): if authority comes from God, it must be obeyed; but if there are certain types of defect in acquiring or using authority subjects are not obliged to obey, and if the ruler compels them to sin, they must disobey.⁷⁵ Aquinas even left unchallenged a defence of tyrannicide by Cicero:

Besides, no one is obliged to obey someone whom that one can licitly, even laudably, kill. But Cicero, in his book *De officiis*, speaks well of those who killed Julius Caesar, although he was their friend and familiar, [since] he was as it were a tyrant who had overstepped the rights of the empire.⁷⁶

Though Thomas denies that this means that subjects never have to obey tyrants, he concedes,

Cicero is speaking of that case when someone snatches lordship for themselves by violence, and the subjects are unwilling and compelled to consent, and when there is no recourse to a superior, through whom judgement could be had of the invader; for then the one who kills the tyrant for the liberation of the fatherland is praised and receives a reward.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, II.44.2.2 co.: ‘Dictum est autem, quod praelatio potest a Deo non esse dupliciter: vel quantum ad modum acquirendi praelationem, vel quantum ad usum praelationis. Quantum ad primum contingit dupliciter: aut propter defectum personae, quia indignus est; aut propter defectum in ipso modo acquirendi, quia scilicet per violentiam vel per simoniam, vel aliquo illicito modo acquirit. Ex primo defectu non impeditur quin jus praelationis ei acquiratur; et quoniam praelatio secundum suam formam semper a Deo est (quod debitum obedientiae causat); ideo talibus praelatis, quamvis indignis, obedire tenentur subditi. Sed secundus defectus impedit jus praelationis: qui enim per violentiam dominium surripit non efficit vere praelatus vel dominus; et ideo cum facultas adest, potest aliquis tale dominium repellere: nisi forte postmodum dominus verus effectus sit vel per consensum subditorum, vel per auctoritatem superioris. Abusus autem praelationis potest esse dupliciter: vel ex eo quod est praecemptum a praelatio, contrarium ejus ad quod praelatio ordinata est, ut si praecipiat actum peccati contrarium virtuti ad quam inducendam et conservandam praelatio ordinatur; et tunc aliquis praelatio non solum non tenetur obedire, sed etiam tenetur non obedire, sicut et sancti martyres mortem passi sunt, ne impiis jussis tyrannorum obedirent: vel quia cogunt ad hoc ad quod ordo praelationis non se extendit; ut si dominus exigit tributa quae servus non tenetur dare, vel aliquid hujusmodi; et tunc subditus non tenetur obedire, nec etiam tenetur non obedire.’

⁷⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, II.44.2.2, arg. 5: ‘Nullus tenetur ei obedire, quem licite, immo laudabiliter potest interficere. Sed Tullius in libro *De officiis* [I.26] salvat eos qui Julium Caesarem interfecerunt, quamvis amicum et familiarem qui quasi tyrannus jura imperii superaverat. Ergo talibus nullus tenetur obedire [...] Ad quintum dicendum quod Tullius loquitur in caso illo quando aliquis dominium sibi per violentiam surripit, nolentibus subditis, vel etiam ad consensum coactis, et quando non est recursus ad superiorem, per quem judicium de invasore possit fieri: tunc enim qui ad liberationem patriae tyrannum occidit, laudatur et premium accipit.’

⁷⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, II.44.2.2, ad 5: ‘Ad quintum dicendum, quod Tullius loquitur in casu illo quando aliquis dominium sibi per violentiam surripit, nolentibus

Besides providing another reference to a superior public authority (lacking in this case), this is especially striking, since it shows an interest in Roman republican history that Baron would label uncharacteristic of Aquinas and since in *Crisis* Baron says that there is no criticism of Caesar this early.⁷⁸ Nearly twenty years later, Aquinas made a similar point in *Summa theologiae*, arguing that the overthrow of a tyrannical government ‘does not have the character of sedition’, since it is the tyrant who commits sedition through his spread of discord.⁷⁹ In neither case did Thomas demand resistance only through prayer.

The internal contradictions between this and Augustine certainly exist, but such contradictions are common to many of the medieval writers exposed to the radically different ideas of Aristotle. Indeed, this is found most strikingly in Tolomeo’s part of *De regimine principum*.⁸⁰

Baron was led to a third interpolation by an alleged discrepancy between Book I, Chapter 4, which identifies tyranny as the worst form of government, and Book I, Chapter 6, which seems to state that the tyranny of one is not as bad as the corruption of the ‘government of the many best’, that is, oligarchy. From this he concludes, without pointing to specific passages: ‘in conjunction with the high probability of insertions by a writer favorable to republican life in [Chapter] 4 [5], the supposition that the strongly anti-tyrannical tenor of [Chapter] 3 [4] is due to certain changes of the text by the same reviser appears to have a strong claim’.⁸¹

This contradiction may be illusory, stemming from the author’s failure to state explicitly that he was engaging in the common practice of making distinctions. In

subditis, vel etiam ad consensum coactis, et quando non est recursus ad superiorem, per quem iudicium de invasore possit fieri: tunc enim qui ad liberationem patriae tyrannum occidit, laudatur, et praemium accipit.’

⁷⁸ Baron, *Crisis*, pp. 52–57, where the only early criticism of Caesar Baron could find is in Tolomeo Fiadoni and the fourteenth-century Petrarch.

⁷⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-II.42.2 ad 3: ‘Ad tertium dicendum quod regimen tyrannicum non est iustum, quia non ordinatur ad bonum commune, sed ad bonum privatum regentis, ut patet per philosophum, in III Polit. et in VIII Ethic. Et ideo perturbatio huius regiminis non habet rationem seditionis, nisi forte quando sic inordinate perturbatur tyranni regimen quod multitudo subiecta maius detrimentum patitur ex perturbatione consequenti quam ex tyranni regimine. Magis autem tyrannus seditiosus est, qui in populo sibi subiecto discordias et seditiones nutrit, ut tutius dominari possit. Hoc enim tyrannicum est, cum sit ordinatum ad bonum proprium praesidentis cum multitudinis nocumento.’

⁸⁰ See Blythe, *Ideal Government*, pp. 98–109.

⁸¹ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, pp. 18 (5)–22 (8b); the quotation is from p. 22 (8b).

Book I, Chapter 6, he writes that the ‘excessive tyranny’ of one is the absolutely worst form, but also that the non-excessive form may be better than the degenerative form of aristocracy. He was saying in effect: ‘We can understand “tyranny” in two senses: excessive tyranny, in which rulers destroy peace by oppressing all their subjects, and moderate tyranny, in which some vestige of peace is preserved and only some individuals are oppressed. Likewise, we can distinguish excessive and moderate oligarchy. But when any one of the rulers in an aristocracy abandons the common good, dissension immediately threatens to arise among the multitude and peace is lost. It is also much more likely that a single tyrant will emerge from the breakdown of aristocracy than from monarchy. Therefore, moderate oligarchy is unlikely, so that the normal, extreme version of oligarchy is worse and more destructive to peace and the common good than tyranny in its normal, moderate form’. This serves to develop one of the stated purposes of Book I, Chapter 6 — to discourage people from avoiding monarchy out of fear of tyranny — while avoiding any inconsistency that might follow from deplored so strongly the dangers of aristocracy.

Although Baron was most disturbed by the assault on tyranny in Book I, Chapter 4, the statement that oligarchy was worse than tyranny would be most out of character for Thomas. If anything, Baron should have suggested that it is the statement in Book I, Chapter 6, that betrays an interpolator, except, of course, that this interpolator could not have been a republican like Tolomeo. In the context of a dedication to the Cypriot king, the anti-tyrannical passages read as a salutary warning to a king seeking more power. Baron argues that the vigour with which the chapter rails against the tyranny of one does not suit Aquinas’s political views and, instead, betrays the hand of a republican. When we consider the dangers facing Hugo II or III, such anti-tyrannical sentiments reinforce rather than disrupt Aquinas’s argument in favour of monarchy.

The fourth and final place that Baron found interpolations is Book I, Chapter 15, and although republicanism plays a part here too, the main problem for him is that the author appears to be a hierocrat whose language reflects the ideas of Pope Boniface VIII’s Bull *Unam sanctam* of 1302 — promulgated about the time in which Tolomeo, a strong supporter of papal power, was writing *De regimine principum* — more than the views of Aquinas or other writers of his time.⁸² Although Baron makes no mention of it, if this passage shows the extreme papalism

⁸² Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, p. 37 (23). For *Unam sanctam*, see *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. by Emil Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879–81), II, cols 1245–46; translation in Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 188–89.

of *Unam sanctam*, it would also support Tolomeo's identity as the reviser, since he was one of the few high papalists who was also a republican.

Baron accentuates the hierocratic tone of the suspect passage by omitting a dualistic-sounding part of it, so it is questionable whether this statement is hierocratic at all. The author may simply have been making the common, even uncontroversial, point that kings are subject in spiritual matters.⁸³ Even if it were hierocratic, the language here is no more extreme than that of many eleventh-through thirteenth-century texts, and less strident than that in *Unam sanctam*. Finally, we do not know whether Aquinas was a hierocrat, since he wrote very little about papal power, but one passage in his early *Scriptum super Sententiis* is fairly close to the text here.⁸⁴ Thomas may have had views close to Tolomeo's about the papacy. Though Tolomeo could have written the passage, there is no reason to conclude that Thomas did not. Most decisively, Tolomeo refers to this very passage around 1310, one of the few times he directly cites Thomas by name: 'Brother' Thomas in his treatise *De regimine principum* [proved] that the

⁸³ See, e.g., Fitzgerald, 'St Thomas Aquinas and the Two Powers', pp. 536–56, and Leonard E. Boyle, 'The *De regno* and the Two Powers', in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. by J. R. O'Donnell (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), pp. 237–47, who refutes an argument similar to that of Baron on this point by I. T. Eschmann, 'Saint Thomas Aquinas on the Two Powers', *Medieval Studies*, 20 (1958), 177–205. The full passage in question (Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.15.10 (Leonine II.3)) is as follows: 'So that spiritual things might be distinguished from earthly things, the ministry of this kingdom was committed not to earthly kings, but to priests, and especially to the highest priest, the successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the Roman Pontiff, to whom it is necessary that all kings of the Christian people be subject, just as to the Lord Jesus Christ himself. For those responsible for antecedent ends should be subject to and directed by the command of him with responsibility for the final end' (*Huiusmodi ergo regni ministerium, ut a terrenis spiritualia essent discreta, non terrenis regibus sed sacerdotibus est commissum, et precipue summo sacerdoti successori Petri, Christi uicario Romano Pontifici, cui omnes reges populi Christiani oportet esse subiectos sicut ipsi Domino Ihesu Christo. Sic enim ei, ad quem finis ultimi cura pertinet, subdi debent illi, ad quos pertinet cura antecedentium finium, et eius imperio dirigi*). Baron begins his quotation with the word 'priests'.

⁸⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, II.44.2.3 expos: 'Potestas spiritualis et saecularis, utraque deducitur a potestate divina; et ideo intantum saecularis potestas est sub spirituali, inquantum est ei a Deo supposita, scilicet in his quae ad salutem animae pertinent; et ideo in his magis est obediendum potestati spirituali quam saeculari. In his autem quae ad bonum civile pertinent, est magis obediendum potestati saeculari quam spirituali, secundum illud Matth. 22, 21: redite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari. Nisi forte potestati spirituali etiam saecularis potestas conjungatur, sicut in Papa, qui utriusque potestatis apicem tenet, scilicet spiritualis et saecularis, hoc illo disponente qui est sacerdos et rex in aeternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech, rex regum, et dominus dominantium, cuius potestas non auferetur et regnum non corrumpetur in saecula saeculorum.'

priesthood of Christ and consequently his vicar is preferred from his commission to all lordship, because this is greatest in moral philosophy.⁸⁵

For Baron, another suspicious aspect of Book I, Chapter 15, is its comment that even before Christ, the kings of Rome and Gaul obeyed priests, reversing the normal relationship, since God had foreseen that Rome would be the centre of Christianity and that its priesthood would flourish, especially in Gaul.⁸⁶ Baron suspects that Tolomeo wrote this in accord with his original belief that the Roman people were divinely inspired pioneers of the Fifth Monarchy of the Church. Baron also notes that Tolomeo was one of the curialist Guelphs who thought that the papal/French alliance would save the church and the Italian city-states, which sentiment he notably expresses in his belief that the French kings possessed healing powers.⁸⁷ However, in *De iurisdictione ecclesie*, Tolomeo attributes the same view of the pious nature of Gauls to Thomas by name, presumably again referring to Book I, Chapter 15.⁸⁸

Baron saw another clue in the use of Valerius Maximus in Chapter 15 of Book I to show how Rome always put religion first. Thomas often cited Valerius,⁸⁹ but Baron found it significant because I.15 singles out Rome as anticipating Christian values and because Tolomeo uses the same text to construct his notion of Roman piety.⁹⁰ However, Valerius is not employed in the same way in the two

⁸⁵ *De iurisdictione ecclesie*, p. 472b: ‘Frater Thomas in tractatu *De regimine principum*, ad probandum quod Sacerdotium Christi, et per consequens sui Vicarii ex sua commissione praferitur omni dominio, quia haec est maxima in philosophia morali.’

⁸⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.15.11–12 (Leonine II.3); Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, pp. 38–40 (24–26).

⁸⁷ Baron p. 40 (26), referring to *De regimine principum*, II.16.6, where Tolomeo reports the miraculous anointing of Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks, and the cures his descendants performed because of their anointing.

⁸⁸ *De iurisdictione ecclesie*, p. 472b: ‘it would be in Gaul, as the divine religion of Christian priests would be strong, that even among the Gauls, gentile priests, named druids, defined the law [*ius*] of all Gaul, as Julius Caesar says in a book he wrote on the Gallic war, and these are the words introduced by the same doctor.’

⁸⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.7.4, I.11.3 (Leonine I.6, I.10); *Scriptum super Sententias*, IV.1.1.5.3 expos.; *Summa contra gentiles*, III.154, III.124. *Summa theologiae*, I–II. 99.3 co., II–II.47.10 ad 2, II–II.26. 8 arg. 1, II–II. 83.5 co., II–II.95. 3 co., II–II.149. 4 co., II–II.154. 9 co.; II–II.152. 2 arg. 3.

⁹⁰ Baron, ‘Ptolemy Paper’, pp. 40–41 (26–27); *De regimine principum*, II.12.5, II.16.8; Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, I.15.12 (Leonine II.3). The reference is to Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, I.1.9: ‘Omnia namque post religionem ponenda semper nostra civitas duxit, etiam in quibus summae maiestatis conspici decus voluit. quapropter non dubitaverunt sacris

parts. Tolomeo merely mentions his name, in one case simply to say that the Romans were devout, and in the other to show how those who were more fervent fared better. He never cites Valerius to show that the rulers of Rome served the priests. In fact, papalist that he was, he never argues, in any practical situation, for the subservience of secular rulers, except in religious matters. This in fact is the literal meaning of the Valerius quotation, but the author of Book I, Chapter 15, took it further, especially in the case of the Gauls, whose priests did not even have the justification of living in the future Christian capital.

Nevertheless, one aspect of Baron's analysis is almost persuasive. There is no evidence elsewhere that Thomas believed that the ancient Romans prepared the way for Christianity. So far as we know Tolomeo developed this in his modification of the common theory of the Four World Empires, by adding the Fifth Monarchy of the Church and showing how God favoured the ancient Roman Empire because of the Roman virtues, including piety. Nor is there any evidence that Thomas had any special feelings about the Franks, whereas Tolomeo was deeply involved with the vicissitudes of the papal-Guelph-French alliance. These points do sound much more like Tolomeo than Thomas.

For Baron the interpolations call the whole text into question: 'who can guarantee that there are not also instances, big and small, in which the gaps and incongruities are not visible enough to permit detection?'⁹¹ He concedes that the style of the inserted passages is like that of Book I as a whole and quite different from that of Tolomeo's part, so that 'one must, therefore, assume that Ptolemy, when working on "the revision" of an existing text, wished and was able to avoid the stylistic idiosyncrasies which were characteristic of his normal way of writing'.⁹² This seems rather dubious and supposes a sensitivity to style not associated with scholastic writers, in particular Tolomeo's realization that he had a tendency to use certain words and expressions such as *amplius autem*, *prefatus*, and *influentia* that Thomas did not.

Baron's usual argument is just the reverse; he believed that Aquinas did not make the revisions himself because they were so noticeable: 'It is very improbable that if the author re-shaped his work, he should have left so many divergent

imperia servire, ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen existimantia, si divinae potentiae bene atque constanter fuissent famulata'; quoted with unimportant variation in I.15.12.

⁹¹ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 25 (originally numbered 10; crossed out and replaced with 11).

⁹² Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 30 (16). Though he does not mention O'Rahilly by name, Baron must have been referring to his comparison of the frequency of characteristic words in the various parts of *De regimine principum* in 'Notes on St Thomas: V', pp. 606–12.

portions of the former text entirely unchanged side by side with fresh paragraphs written in a new vein.⁹³ Yet, it is quite common — in fact it is true at the stage of this chapter when this sentence was first composed, and of Baron's manuscript itself — that works in progress contain contradictions and odd juxtapositions. We do not have to accuse Ron Witt of revising Baron's text to explain its contradictions. Authors frequently interpolate passages in their own work and sometimes, but not always, smooth out the conflicts later. Thomas was not known for intensive revision to his work, but that does not mean that he did not do this here, especially if he was writing on a relatively unfamiliar topic addressed not to his usual audience of other scholars but to a king.

What can we conclude about Baron's argument? The manuscript evidence is conclusive that Tolomeo could not have revised Book I as he was finishing *De regimine principum*, and yet part of Baron's argument is compelling. In no other work did Thomas Aquinas show anything like the sympathy for republicanism and ancient Rome that is expressed in Book I, Chapters 5, 7, and 15, the constitutional role of the Senate of Chapter 7, or the privileged position of Rome and the Franks in Chapter 15. All these things were, however, characteristic of Tolomeo Fiadoni, who was the author of the bulk of the treatise, and the person who joined the two parts. And with respect to Chapter 5, Baron is convincing when he says that removing the suspect text would strengthen the author's stated argument.

None of the possibilities is satisfactory. Concluding that Aquinas wrote all the parts ascribed to him runs up against the objections just related. But deciding that Tolomeo made interpolations raises other problems, not the least of which is the explanation of how he could have brought himself to alter the words and meaning of his revered and soon-to-be-sainted mentor. In terms of opportunity, there are two possibilities. First, he could have done it in two stages: first modifying Thomas's work in the late thirteenth century for inclusion in the editions of Aquinas's short works, and then later on continuing it. Second, he could have been working on the whole work over a period of years (as, in fact, Baron believed), always intending to continue Thomas's work, but releasing Thomas's part with modifications for inclusion in the compilation. Baron does not directly address this question, but he states (without defence) that Tolomeo's revision of Thomas's part took place 'shortly after Thomas's death'.⁹⁴ Either of these schemas

⁹³ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 29 (15).

⁹⁴ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 39 (25).

requires the treatise to be in Tolomeo's keeping after Thomas's death, which is not impossible since Tolomeo was at Thomas's *studium* at Naples when Thomas died.

If we suppose that the first part of *De regimine principum* represents a series of drafts written by one author and in the end left unfinished, and thus with the inconsistencies that any unfinished work always has, we successfully explain the contradictory nature of the troublesome passages without having to rely upon a reviser. In this case, another explanation of the relationship between the republican arguments of the two parts emerges: Tolomeo built upon Thomas's undeveloped republican ideas. This theory is simpler than the belief that Tolomeo violated his teacher's text by planting rudimentary expressions of the ideas that he planned to articulate more fully in his continuation, or perhaps had already articulated, all the while avoiding the telltale signs of his own writing style.

What of the passages that sound so much more like Tolomeo than Thomas? The likely late date of Thomas's part raises an intriguing possibility. Though Thomas was not exposed in his formative years to the communal culture of northern Italy, having grown up in the strong monarchy of southern Italy and getting his education in monarchical France and imperial Germany, he spent some time in the 1260s in northern Italy and Rome and travelled with Tolomeo. It is at least possible that some of his young disciple's enthusiasm for republicanism and ancient Rome rubbed off and he was moved to include it in his own work. Perhaps he intended to go back and smooth out the contradictions but died before he could do it. On balance, I believe that either this was what happened or that Tolomeo did make several interpolations in Book I: the republican section of Chapter 5, the parts of Chapter 15 about Rome as precursor of Christianity and the particular role of the Franks, and possibly the remarks in Chapter 7 about the Senate. All others that Baron suggests are sufficiently like Thomas not to require suspicion.

We are still left with the puzzle of the *Historia ecclesiastica nova* reference. Baron cites this as evidence that the complete work had not been released publicly by 1317.⁹⁵ Why would Tolomeo withhold his work, having laboured over it and ending with a promise of a later continuation? Even if he had, why would he not have mentioned here that he had done it, and why would he not have made revisions after 1302, especially considering the very changed situation in northern Italy and the papacy? There are several early fourteenth-century manuscripts, so it could not have languished long in Tolomeo's private collection.

⁹⁵ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 81 (66).

Baron proposed a reason for the delay: the humiliation of Pope Boniface VIII when he was kidnapped and held by the French at Anagni in 1303, not long after Tolomeo is thought to have completed his work.⁹⁶ Baron felt that the weakness of the Pope would make strong statements of papal supremacy unpublishable, but hierocratic treatises continued to be written throughout the fourteenth century, and *Unam sanctam* itself was issued when Boniface VIII was greatly weakened in his struggle with Philip IV. Such periods often saw the most stringent assertions of papal authority as defenders of the pope attempted to gain the moral high ground. One could more easily wonder why Tolomeo would have left the comments about the unction of the French king in after Philip's devastating assault on the church's income in 1296. However, this one passage is minor and does not ascribe any special authority to the King. One would think that the church/state crisis would have made Tolomeo more anxious to publish. Baron's explanation does have the great advantage of being the only one proposed that renders comprehensible Tolomeo's omission of his completion of Thomas's treatise in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*: if he never intended to publish it there was no reason to mention it. For lack of a more convincing explanation we may be forced to accept its non-publication, if not Baron's explanation.

Mark D. Jordan has also suggested a possible revision of Thomas's work: a reordering of the chapters of the First Part of *De regimine principum*. He argues that the material of Book I, Chapters 8–12, which treats the rewards of a good king, pertains to the second of Thomas's stated aims, the office of a king, and thus logically belongs at the end of Book II (or later if Thomas intended more than two books).⁹⁷ Jordan's arguments are reasonable, but they are by no means decisive, since there are equally reasonable counterarguments. Thomas normally wrote from beginning to end, so it would be unlikely that he would complete a final section while leaving an earlier chapter in mid-sentence. And Jordan's contention that Book I, Chapters 8 and 10 (Leonine I.7, I.9) refer to matters not discussed until later is only partially true: though they do refer to aspects of the office of king that are only elaborated later, the specific reference in both cases — to the duty of a king to serve the common good — is mentioned earlier in Book I. If Jordan's claim were true, Tolomeo would once again be the likely culprit. But it would imply that Tolomeo had his continuation well planned long before he wrote it, which is extremely unlikely. Further, I can think of no way that the

⁹⁶ Baron, 'Ptolemy Paper', p. 80 (65).

⁹⁷ Mark D. Jordan, 'De regno and the Place of Political Thinking in Thomas Aquinas', *Medioevo: Rivista filosofica medievale*, 18 (1992), 151–68 (pp. 161–62).

rearrangement would serve Tolomeo's political agenda. The only explanation I can think of is that he wanted all of Thomas's part to be contiguous. If so, this would indicate a respect for the integrity of Thomas's work that is inconsistent with the interpolations Baron perceived.

In the end we must reluctantly resign ourselves to the reality that unless more evidence comes to light, or unless someone is capable of wringing meaning from the available sources that has eluded me, Baron, and all others who have attempted it, the mystery surrounding the composition and publication of *De regimine principum* cannot be completely resolved.

Chapter 8

ANNALES (ANNALS)

In this chronicle Tolomeo assembled a vast amount of historical material from Europe and the Holy Lands between 1063 and 1303, with an emphasis on Tuscany, especially on Lucca and the innumerable wars between Lucca and Pisa. He also follows closely the affairs of the papacy and empire and the progress, or lack of it, in the crusades. The nature of the genre required his treatment of events to be cursory, with little analysis or detail, though he sometimes includes colourful anecdotes, and he notes occasionally that there is much more to say on a certain subject, but that he presently has no room for it. On the other hand, the format is more flexible than that of the later *Historia ecclesiastica nova* since it spans a shorter time and does not focus on a single institution. The Tuscan events he narrates are mostly an endless litany of battles, armies, sieges of castles, taking and killing of captives, gaining and losing of territories, and military alliances and rivalries, and what he reports about the affairs of other political entities is usually more of the same.

Manuscripts contain one of two versions of this work, both edited, with the differing text in parallel, in Bernhard Schmeidler's edition.¹ Antoine Dondaine dates the work as 1303–06.² Martinus Polonus's *Chronicon*, which ends in 1278, is one of the major sources for the earlier parts of *Annales*. But unlike this popular

¹ Tolomeo Fiadoni (Tholomaeus von Lucca), *Annalen des Tholomeus von Lucca*, ed. by Bernhard Schmeidler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicorum*, n.s., 8 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1930; repr. 1955)(= *Annales*). This also includes edited editions of the relevant source chronicles, *Gesta Florentinorum* and *Gesta Lucanorum*. See also Bernhard Schmeidler, 'Studien zu Tholomeus von Lucca', *Neues Archiv*, 33 (1908), 285–343; 34 (1909), 175–92, 723–56, which provides an introduction to the manuscripts and text of the *Annales*. However, he wrote this before he had done the critical edition of the *Annales*.

² Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 170.

chronicle, which survives in hundreds of manuscripts, the *Annales* is known only from four manuscripts and a manuscript fragment containing only the prologue, all in Lucca, and all of them far from perfect.

Two of them are from the fourteenth century and contain the two recensions, which Schmeidler calls A and B1; the third manuscript (Schmeidler's B1^a) is from the fifteenth century and follows B1 faithfully, even to the extent that it ends with the same word and contains the same corrections. The fragment, B1^a, is sixteenth-century and consists only of an incomplete copy of Tolomeo's forward. The last complete manuscript, which Schmeidler calls 'a' and identifies as a worthless copy of A containing errors of its own in addition to the ones in A, is early seventeenth-century and served as the model for — indeed was most likely specifically prepared to be sent to Lyon to the printer Jacob Roussin — the first printed edition of the *Annales* in 1619.³ In only a few cases was Schmeidler able to use it in places where A was unreadable. Manuscript B1 is damaged, and Schmeidler compiled his edition of the B version using B1^a.⁴

A, the earlier redaction, written on paper, ends in 1303, but Schmeidler does not think that it ever went beyond this, and it has a large gap of sixteen sides that would cover the years 1189–1263. There is a gathering of eight folios on different paper sewn in to cover the gap, but Schmeidler found it to be a worthless corruption of B1.⁵ B1 is incomplete, and it is unsure where it originally ended, though, as it is, it also ends in 1303. There is water damage, which has obliterated some of the text and made other portions unreadable. There are also numerous textual problems and corrections in later medieval hands, presumably from another manuscript, now lost. Some of the corrections are helpful, but others do not seem to come from a better model, and the fifteenth-century version is better. The manuscript has so many errors, gaps, omissions of words or even sentences, and

³ In his introduction to a nineteenth-century edition of the *Annales*, pp. 25–27, Carlo Minutoli tells the history of the seventeenth-century edition, which was undertaken at the request of the Scot Thomas Demster for material to write a history of Italy and subsidized by the city of Lucca. Minutoli's was one of two other, better, versions of A published before Schmeidler's edition: the other is an eighteenth-century version in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. by Ludovico A. Muratori, 28 vols (Milan: S. Lapim, 1727), XI, cols 1249–1306. See also Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

⁴ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi; 'Studien', p. 288. The manuscripts are Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Biblioteca, Manoscritti 55 (formerly 988)(A); Biblioteca Statale di Lucca 1638 (B), 2640 (B1a), 1733 (a), 975 (B1^a). In 'Studien', Schmeidler refers to B1^a as B1 and B1 as B.

⁵ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv; 'Studien', pp. 288–89.

misorderings of material that Schmeidler believed that the model for B1 must also have been problematic.⁶ For these reasons, it is not always clear what words the author intended, but in some cases there is also evidence that some of the problems stem from Tolomeo himself.⁷

Tolomeo had clearly always been interested in historical writing, and it seems likely that he had been gathering information, however unsystematically, on his various travels. He refers often, for example, to the *Gesta Francorum* and *Gesta Germanorum*, which he must have seen during his trips to France and Germany. It was during the period of his French trip in at least some of the years 1282–87 that he doubtless collected his Spanish information, whether or not he actually travelled to Spain. When he came to write his *Annales* he no longer had such sources available to him, and Schmeidler has suggested that the kind of excerpts he made on his trips was suited to later distortions and misunderstandings like those so often found.⁸ In San Romano and Santa Maria Novella Tolomeo must have had access to the major sources: the *Chronicles* of Richard of Poitou (or Cluny), whom he had already cited in *De iurisdictione imperii*, and Martinus Polonus (also known as Martinus Oppaviensis and Martin von Troppau),⁹ as well as the *Gesta Lucanorum* and *Gesta Florentinorum*. In Florence and Lucca he also had access to the communal documents that he often cites. In Florence he could also have read Thomas of Pavia's *Chronicle*, from which, Schmeidler argues, Tolomeo derived many historical details.¹⁰

In the forward to the *Annales* Tolomeo mentions that he will begin with the year 1063, '240 years ago, or thereabouts'. Taking the number exactly, we arrive at 1303, which is indeed where the manuscript ends. Schmeidler supposes that he began writing upon his return from his term as prior of Santa Maria Novella in late 1302, having gathered fresh information from the *Gesta Florentinorum*. Coming home to find an author working on the *Gesta Lucanorum* (1303/04)

⁶ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

⁷ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xxxv; 'Studien', pp. 289–91.

⁸ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xxi–xxii.

⁹ Martinus Polonus, *Chronicon*, pp. 377–482. A.-D. von den Brincken is working on new edition. More medieval copies, at least 437, survive of Martin's *Chronicon* than of any other historical work; Tolomeo was apparently the first one to use the name Martinus Polonus. See Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas, 'Martinus Polonus' Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors: A Medieval Best-Seller and its Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chroniclers', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 327–41 (p. 328).

¹⁰ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, p. xxiii.

and anticipating an uninterrupted period at San Romano, Schmeidler believes he was inspired to begin his own history.¹¹

In the *Annales*, Tolomeo comments that after Pope Martin IV refused to be crowned in Viterbo because of the offence of the Viterbans against a cardinal, the papal Curia was never again in residence in Viterbo. Since Benedict XI stayed there for a little less than a week in May 1304, this might seem to provide a latest date of publication. However, Schmeidler reasonably discounts this on the grounds that Tolomeo may well not have even known about such a short stay, and that even if he did, he may not have considered such a temporary event a real residence.¹²

Although there are many errors throughout the work, and chronological errors continue even into the period of Tolomeo's conscious life, *Annales* itself is an important historical source for the years from the late 1250s on, particularly from 1260 on, when the length of entries markedly increase and the information was drawn more often from Tolomeo's personal knowledge and observation.

¹¹ Schmeidler, introduction to *Annales*, pp. xxvi–xxvii. Schmeidler lists 1303, instead of late 1302.

¹² *Annales*, 1281, p. 193; see also n. 3, above.

*DE ORIGINE AC TRANSLATIONE ET
STATU ROMANI IMPERII* (ON THE ORIGIN AND
TRANSLATION AND STATE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE)

Marius Krammer edited this anonymous short treatise, *Tractatus de origine ac translatione et statu Romani Imperii*, which he believed Tolomeo wrote, most likely in 1308.¹ His evidence for Tolomeo's authorship is convincing and consists of similarities between it and Tolomeo's other works, including idiosyncratic details and in some cases exact wording.² Significantly, the one manuscript that survives also contains two other treatises of Tolomeo, *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae*.³

Tolomeo begins this work with the assertion that ignorance of the history of the Roman Empire has led many into error. He then gives an account of the 'translation of the empire', first of the Western Empire by Constantine from the Greeks to Pope Sylvester through the Donation of Constantine, then by the Pope to the Franks at the time of Charlemagne, then again by the Pope to the Germans. After the translations to the Franks and Germans, the imperial title became hereditary for the most part until the eleventh century, when the Pope made the office elective. Seven electors were to choose a candidate, but papal approval was needed before he could officially assume the imperial office. Tolomeo mostly restricted himself to the Western Empire, for which papal approval was

¹ Tolomeo Fiadoni, *Tractatus anonymus de origine ac translatione et statu Romani Imperii*, in *De iurisdictione imperii de iuribus imperii*, ed. by Marius Krammer, *Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui*, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909), pp. 66–75.

² Marius Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, pp. xl–xlivii.

³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4046, membr., s.xiv, fols 34–36.

necessary, but he does make it clear that the original translation was of the whole empire from the Greeks to the Franks instead of simply of the Western Roman Empire from the pope to the Franks by virtue of the Donation.

Some parts of the treatise are distinctively similar to what Tolomeo wrote in his other works. For example, the author emphasizes Constantine's dependence on 'the counsel and assent of his satraps and optimates whether of all the Senate or the whole people' for the authority of the Donation, and he mentions that Sylvester was the first pope to name cardinals, who took the place of the Roman Senate.⁴ He also stresses the authority of the pope to take action for the utility of the Church and the whole Christian people.

Because of the nature of the argument, and its exhortations to the imperial electors, Krammer believed that it was written during an imperial vacancy.⁵ There are numerous possibilities during Tolomeo's lifetime, but several aspects of the treatise point to 1308 or 1314, and most likely to 1308.

In *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De regimine principum*, Tolomeo says that imperial elections began in 1030, whereas in this treatise he gives a more correct date of 1004, which he could have gotten from Martinus Polonus, whose chronicle he used for *Annales*. This suggests that this treatise is later than *De regimine principum*, and if this is true, the only possible vacancies are 1308 and 1314.

To Krammer the situation of 1308 seems more suited to this treatise because of the controversy that was raging about the election. Philip IV of France was trying to force the election of his brother Charles of Valois and attempted, with no clear success, to enlist pope Clement V in his cause. The papal party was keen to assert the necessity of consultation and consent of the Pope to any imperial election, but this failed when the electors chose Henry VII. In the 1314 election, the Pope and French king were not as involved in such specific intrigues. Nevertheless, that election was quite controversial, and it was at that time that Clement IV issued his constitution *Pastoralis cura*, in which he asserts the ultimate authority of the church over the empire and the right of the pope to rule the empire during this, or any, vacancy. It was only his death in 1314, followed by a two-year interregnum, that prevented more active papal involvement. Philip IV also died in 1314, and the election of Ludwig of Bavaria proved problematic, provoking civil war and much church manoeuvring.

In the course of the 1308 dispute, the French apologist Peter de Bosco wrote that the electors had long ago forfeited their rights through abuse of power

⁴ *De origine ac translatione*, p. 67.

⁵ Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

and the election of emperors hostile to the church. Krammer claims that the author of *De origine ac translatione* derived some of his ideas from Peter, and though Tolomeo did not agree with Peter's assertion of long-term abuse or with his general hostility to Germany, he argued that the Pope could annul the election of someone not pleasing to the church and that he could, and in the past *had*, translated the empire when necessary. This reflects the position of Clement IV, who had a particularly fragile relationship with Philip IV and was anxious to preserve good relationships with both him and the Germans if possible.⁶

Krammer also argues that Tolomeo seemed to be refuting a recently published book that discounted the papal role in the imperial elections, and he tried to identify this book as Dante's *De monarchia*. This is especially interesting in light of the contested claim by Theodore Silverstein that Dante used Tolomeo's earlier work as a major source of *De monarchia*.⁷ Tolomeo asserts that he is resisting false ideas raised in modern times (he uses words often associated with heresy, such as *cancer*, *scandal*, *schism*, *pestiferous*) that must be stifled as they arise.⁸ He goes on to dispute numerous 'errors' related to what Dante argued, such as the denial of any past papal translations of the empire. Krammer believed that Clement V must have gotten Tolomeo to write this treatise in response, pointing out that Tolomeo was living in the papal court at least from 1309. However, we know that Tolomeo was in Lucca until mid-1309, and that he arrived only shortly after Clement V. Though this does not disprove Krammer's theory in general, it is far from proved.⁹

There is no doubt that this treatise, despite the paucity of surviving copies, had some influence on fourteenth-century political thought. Around 1324, Landolfo di Colonna excerpted a large portion of it for his own treatise *De translatione imperii*, and Marsilius of Padua sometime after this adapted Landolfo and perhaps this treatise independently in his treatise of the same name.¹⁰ Marsilius, of course, turned Tolomeo and Landolfo's papal positions on their heads to argue in support of the emperor.

⁶ Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, pp. xxxv–xxxviii.

⁷ Theodore Silverstein, 'On the Genesis of *De monarchia*, II, v', *Speculum*, 13 (1938), 326–49. Charles Till Davis, 'Ptolemy of Lucca', pp. 34–50, questions Tolomeo's influence on Dante.

⁸ *De origine ac translatione*, p. 66.

⁹ Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, pp. xxviii–xl.

¹⁰ Landolfo di Colonna, *De translatione imperii*, in *Monarchia sancti Romani Imperii*, ed. by Melchior Goldast, 3 vols (Frankfurt: [n. pub.], 1611–14), II, 88–95; Marsilius of Padua, *De translatione imperii*, in *Oeuvres mineures*, ed. by Colette Jeudy and Jeanne Quillet (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979); Marsilius of Padua, *De translatione imperii*, in *Defensor minor and De translatione imperii*, ed. and trans. by Cary Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 64–82. See also Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, p. xliv.

*DE IURISDICTIONE ECCLESIAE
SUPER REGNUM APULIAE ET SICILIAE*
(ON THE JURISDICTION OF THE CHURCH
OVER THE KINGDOM OF APULIA AND SICILY)

Another anonymous short treatise, *De iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae*, attributed to Cardinal Nicolaus Roselli de Aragon in an early modern edition, is also very likely the work of Tolomeo. According to Dondaine, Panella, and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* website, the attribution to Tolomeo is ‘incontestable’ (Dondaine’s word) and it was written 1308–14, though none of them defend these assertions. The latest date directly mentioned is 1283, when ‘Peter, King of Aragon, was deprived by Pope Martin, because he invaded the lands of the church in Sicily and made it to rebel’.¹ If the dating is correct, the treatise contains the earliest known verbatim citation of the Thomas Aquinas sections of *De regimine principum*. One of the ten surviving manuscripts that contain this treatise also preserves the unique copy of *De origine ac translatione et statu Romani Imperii* and a copy of *De iurisdictione imperii*.²

The treatise consists of a series of four arguments (or ‘titles’) designed to prove the jurisdiction of the Roman Church over the eponymous regions. The first three examine the various historical circumstances that resulted in the secular

¹ Tolomeo Fiadoni (attr. Nicolaus Roselli de Aragon), *Tractatus de iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae* (henceforth *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*), in *Miscellanea, I: Monumenta historica tum sacra tum profane*, ed. by S. Baluze and J. D. Mansi (Lucca: Riccomini, 1761), pp. 468–73 (ti. 4, p. 471a).

² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4046, membr., s.xiv, fols 221–24; Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 171; *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Kaepeli and Panella, IV, 323.

rulers of these lands formally turning over governmental rights to the church; the fourth is a general argument on ecclesiastical authority in secular affairs anywhere. A comparison of the arguments and chronology used in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, the *Annales*, and *De regimine principum* help to assess the attribution of authorship and date of composition.

In the short Title 1,³ the author explains how Sicily and Apulia both became legitimate parts of the Roman Empire during the Punic Wars and how subsequently Constantine, by the Donation of Constantine, conferred the imperial power on the pope, particularly in the ‘patrimony of the church’, which includes these regions. Specifically, in addition to his general donation, Constantine, in honour of his mother, donated Sardinia and Sicily to the church and built a church dedicated to Peter and Paul as a sign of subjection in Capua, then the capital of the Campania, which includes Naples.

In the extremely brief Title 2,⁴ the author argues that Charlemagne reconquered these regions from the Muslims and returned them to the church.

In Title 3,⁵ the author discusses more recent events, beginning with Robert Guiscard’s defeat of the Greeks in Apulia and Calabria and of the Muslims in Sicily and his donation of those lands to the church, and continuing with the complicated and troubled relationship of the church and the empire and other rulers of southern Italy and Sicily up to 1269, the year Charles of Anjou defeated Conradijn under papal patronage.

In Title 4,⁶ the longest section of the treatise, the author rehearses many common arguments for the hierocratic authority of the papacy, including the Petrine commission and the power of the keys, the pope’s plenitude of power, the letter of Pope Gelasius to Emperor Anastasius, the Donation of Constantine, the papal deposition of the Merovingian king and appointment of Pippin in his stead, the translation of the empire, and the papal confirmation of the usurper Hugh Capet as king of France. In addition, he cites Innocent III’s inaugural sermon and decretals.

Although all these arguments are common to a vast array of hierocratic writers, the treatment of the Petrine commission is similar to that found in Tolomeo’s *De regimine principum*, which is distinctive in form.⁷ In both, the author analyses

³ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 1, pp. 468a–468b.

⁴ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 2, p. 468b.

⁵ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 3, pp. 469a–70b.

⁶ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, pp. 470b–73a.

⁷ *De regimine principum*, III.10.2–6.

the four ‘clauses’ of Christ’s words—‘I say to you: “you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell will not prevail against it. And I will give you the keys to the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven”⁸—and relates them to four aspects of the papal power. As explained in *De regimine principum*: ‘the first refers to the magnitude of the title given, the second to the fortitude of lordship, the third to the amplitude of lordship, and the fourth to the fullness of lordship’.⁹

In the treatise under consideration, the author uses this same division, basic arguments, and terminology, with the exception of the words ‘magnitude of power’. But in both cases the author interprets the first clause identifying Peter as the rock as Christ’s indication of the great power of Peter and both speak of ‘participation in the name’.¹⁰ Both treatises interpret the ‘gates of hell’ clause as indicating fortitude of lordship, both identify the gates with tyrants and those who oppose the church, and both cite the Hohenstaufen emperors from Frederick II on and the way they deservedly ‘died badly’ as proof.¹¹ Both take the keys as sign of amplitude of lordship, namely to the entire church, and both take the ‘whatever’ clause as sign of plenitude of power.¹² For these two points *De regimine principum* gives little argument when they are first presented, although most of those found in *De iurisdictione ecclesiae* occur elsewhere in *De regimine principum*, for the most part within a few pages of the analysis of clauses. Both treatises also use an analogy from architecture and a reference to Aristotle’s *Ethics*, although in different contexts, to comment on the nature of rulers.¹³

The close similarities, and the early direct citation of ‘our reverend doctor [...]’ Brother Thomas in his treatise *De regimine principum*,¹⁴ argue strongly for Tolomeo’s authorship and prove influence at the very least. There are, however, some differences between *De iurisdictione ecclesiae* and Tolomeo’s other writings. *De regimine principum*, for example, is intent on proving that papal rule is both regal and priestly, something never mentioned in *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, and it

⁸ Matthew 16. 18–19.

⁹ *De regimine principum*, III.10.2.

¹⁰ *De regimine principum*, III.10.3; *De Iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, p. 470b.

¹¹ *De regimine principum*, III.10.4; *De Iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, pp. 470b–71a.

¹² *De regimine principum*, III.10.5–6; *De Iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, p. 471a.

¹³ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, p. 472b; *De regimine principum*, iv.23.1.

¹⁴ *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, ti. 4, p. 472b.

argues that papal rule is different in kind from all other rule. *De iurisdictione ecclesiae*, on the other hand, contents itself merely with affirming that papal rule is greater than all other and has authority over all lordship. *De regimine principum* relies for its arguments on biblical and patristic sources and historical events, while *De iurisdictione ecclesiae* uses canon law extensively and directly cites a patristic source only once. Of course, there is no contradiction here, and a similar dichotomy of sources shows up in other works of Tolomeo, depending on the purpose and content of the treatise.

All in all, the similarities and the presence of this treatise in a manuscript containing other known works of Tolomeo make the attribution fairly certain.

HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA NOVA
(NEW ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY)

Historia ecclesiastica nova is by far Tolomeo's longest work. It presents itself as a new comprehensive history of the church, from the 'first pontiff and lord', Jesus Christ himself, up to the author's time. There is no debate about the authorship of the text up through the events after the election of Boniface VIII in 1294 and his move to Rome in early 1295, though it is debatable whether Tolomeo himself continued it up to 1316. However, the study of even certain parts is problematic because the only printed edition, that of Ludovico A. Muratori from the early eighteenth century, is notoriously corrupt and includes later additions, interpolations, and updatings, including extensions of the history until the year 1337, after Tolomeo's death.¹ In the near future we hope to have the critical edition of Ludwig Schmugge, which will certainly clarify the many questions that plague the study of this text.

On the positive side, the manuscripts from the oldest and best group contain few variants and include one manuscript copied in Avignon, possibly when Tolomeo was still there. All of these stop shortly after the election of Boniface VIII. Even these early manuscripts mention Tolomeo as author in the dedicatory letter. The last sections of these manuscripts praise Celestine V, describe Boniface, mention his arrival back in Rome, and end with him sending a legate to further Guelph interests in Tuscany and two legates to mediate the war between France and England, both missions beginning in 1295.² Thus we can be fairly certain

¹ Tolomeo Fiadoni, *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. by L. A. Muratori, 28 vols (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1727), XI, cols 751–1242.

² Tolomeo *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV.36, col. 1203; see Dondaine, 'Opuscula', pp. 147–48. However, one of them breaks off in mid-sentence in XXIV.20, and the latest of this group,

of the text to this point so long as we use one of these manuscripts and not Muratori's.

Though at this point we cannot trust anything after this, it is possible that Tolomeo himself continued the work until 1316. There are two distinct versions of lives of the popes from 1294–1316 in the manuscripts containing them, the earliest of which date from the fifteenth century. One of these continuations is known to be by Heinrich von Diessenhofen, who continued the work to 1316 and then on to 1337, the middle of the reign of Benedict XII.³ The copyist of one of the fifteenth-century manuscripts containing the other continuation, used by Muratori, inserted the following comment after the treatment of the death of Clement V in 1316:

And to this point Lord Brother Thomas Tolomeo Fiadoni of the Order of Preachers wrote his history, but not further. However, those things that follow, from other writers of history about the supreme pontiffs, worthy in faith, who wrote in various ways and places after him, are collected faithfully and most accurately.⁴

The late date of the manuscript makes the attribution somewhat dubious, but there are only minor variations in the parts that overlap in the manuscripts that contain the early version and those that also contain the first continuation. This is not true of the manuscripts containing Heinrich's continuation, which differ substantially even in the overlapping portions.⁵

from 1401, has the continuation in different hand from the rest. I have used the early fourteenth-century manuscript that was copied in Avignon: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5125A, membr., s.xiv.

³ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 149. Muratori reproduced both versions of the continuation: Heinrich's continuation to 1337, cols 1203–16 and the other continuation in cols 1217–42 (but not including the material after 1316 following the internal comment on authorship cited below). Though he did not know the identity of the continuer, Muratori inserted a note in col. 1217 saying that what he had just reproduced was the work of a later writer who seems to have known the work of Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), but that the continuation to follow was the work of Tolomeo.

⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, XXIV, Explicit, col. 1242: 'Et hoc usque scripsit Historiam suam Frater Thomas Tholomeaus de Luca Ordinis Praedicatorum, et non ulterius. Que autem sequuntur, ex aliis fide dignis Historiae Scriptoribus Summorum Pontificum, qui post eum scripserunt in diversis modis, et locis, fideliter et accuratissime collecta sunt.' This is how the text appears in Muratori, but in the transcription of Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, I, 556, the suspicious word 'Thomas' does not appear, at least as reported in Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui (1261–1331): Un historien et sa méthode* (Paris: Champion, 2000), p. 103 n. 68. This is doubtless because, as Dondaine reported, and which I followed in the text, the word was struck out in the manuscript ('Opuscula', p. 148).

⁵ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 163.

In the years that overlap between *Annales* and the continuation of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* (1294–1303) there are some striking similarities that argue strongly for Tolomeo's authorship. As one example, the vivid description of the volcanic eruption in 1302 (here ascribed to 1301) on the island of Ischia cited above from *Annales* is reproduced almost verbatim in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. As another example, both works report the decapitation in 1303 of some of the best Florentine Whites, both Guelph and Ghibelline. Further, the author of the continuation often reports events in Lucca, such as an obscure miracle in 1306, when lightning struck some bundles of wheat that had been harvested on a saint's day and burned up all the good parts, leaving only the chaff. On the other hand, the very presence of such a miracle would be unusual for Tolomeo. There is also much more notice taken of astrological events than in earlier sections of the work, and these are almost always linked to natural disturbances that followed, like floods, snows, and earthquakes. Most of the Luccan events reported are of earthquakes and the like, though often the kind of thing that only one living there would be likely to know. The last minor Luccan event reported is for 1307, a year or so before Tolomeo moved to Avignon, although there continued to be notices of major events like the Pistoians breaking free from Luccan-Florentine domination in 1309 and civic upheavals in 1310. None of these would be of much interest to a non-Luccan. The author also reports the death in 1311 of Tolomeo's patron, Cardinal Albanese, in Lucca and his burial there,⁶ something unlikely to be in a general church history except for its importance to the author. The author uses first person to say that a 'reliable authority' — a usage characteristic of Tolomeo — told him about Emperor Henry VII's death from a fever stemming from a rib abscess and not, as rumoured, a poisoned Eucharist.⁷ I have cited several more examples in Tolomeo's biography, above, that point to him as author. For all these reasons it seems probable to me that Tolomeo did write this continuation.

The existence of two sets of manuscripts, with and without the continuation, suggests to a number of scholars (interested largely in getting Tolomeo's account of Thomas Aquinas and his works as close to Thomas's life as possible) that there may have been two editions, one possibly in the late thirteenth century and the other to bring things up to date some time after the death of Clement V.⁸ Dondaine has disputed this on several grounds, including the basis of the dedicatory

⁶ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1311, col. 1236.

⁷ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 1313, cols 1240–41.

⁸ These include Mandonnet, Taurisano, Mollat, and Rossi; see Dondaine, 'Opuscula', p. 158 n. 30.

letter, to be discussed below, but such an early date also raises problems about Tolomeo's access to sources for the writing and when he had time for it in a period in which he was also writing most of his other works. Of course, this does not mean that there could not have been two editions; it suggests only that a very early date for the first is unlikely.

Dondaine did an excellent job of detective work in attempting to date and authenticate the work, which he believed was completed between 1313 and 1316. The body of the dedicatory letter to Guillaume de Bayonne, submitting *Historia ecclesiastica nova* to him for his examination and correction (no doubt a formality and not an actual request for help), refers to him only as 'your paternity', and mentions his role as lector in the sacred palace of the Roman Curia and professor of theology at the University of Paris, but not his title of cardinal, which he received on 23 (or 24) December 1312. Since it seems beyond belief that Tolomeo would not have mentioned this high title in a dedication, some, including Minutoli, following the early nineteenth-century writer Cesare Lucchesini, conclude that the work was completed before the end of 1312.⁹

However, most recent scholars, including Dondaine, have disagreed. There are two headings in the Muratori edition. The first is a header for the letter: 'The letter which the author directs to Lord Guilhelmus de Bajona, holding the title of Cardinal Priest of St Cecilia, afterwards Bishop of Sabina'. Clearly this was not part of the original text, but indicates that Guillaume was a cardinal at the time of publication, in the opinion of the copyist at least. The second head is the actual salutation of the letter: 'To the reverend in Christ father Lord Guilhelmus de Bajona, holding the title of Cardinal Priest of St Cecilia, Brother Tolomeo Fiadoni Order of Friars Preachers, his devoted and faithful subject, with all his commitment to compliant will in all things'. There is no reason to think that this is not authentic, since it appears in all the manuscripts. A glance at the Avignon manuscript shows immediately what happened. Both heads are there too, but the first one does not contain the words 'afterwards Bishop of Sabina'. Clearly a later copyist added these words based on Guillaume's later appointment. One imagines that Tolomeo singled out the roles of lector and professor in the body of the letter, since these are scholarly ones that bear on his suitability as judge of the work, whereas the cardinalate in itself is not. This would mean that the letter must have been written between December 1312 and 12 September 1317, when Guillaume was named Cardinal of Sabina.

⁹ Minutoli, introduction to *Cronache*, p. 19; Lucchesini, *Della storia letteraria*, bk 3, chap. 2, (ix, 107–09).

Whether the text of the letter confirms this date of composition hinges on what the word *quondam* means in context. Tolomeo wrote:

Moved by these reasons, I turned my effort in this present work according to the measure of my insignificance to writing what I have mentioned, and I took care to transmit it to your paternity, to whose correction and examination I commit myself, as to one who is a doctor and professor of the sacred page in the School of Paris, and a member of the same Order of Preachers, and formerly [*quondam*] established as a Reader of the Sacred Palace in the Roman Curia.¹⁰

The obvious meaning of the Latin, as rendered here, is that Guillaume was no longer a Reader, and Lucchesini accordingly assumed that the letter was written between the time he gave up that office and the time he became a cardinal. However, there was no such gap, so Mollat, who knew this, was forced to argue that *quondam* did not apply to the office at all, since if it did Tolomeo would have put it before ‘Lectori’ (reader), though he does not explain what it would mean as written.¹¹ If, as seems likely, he was no longer a Reader, then he was a cardinal. The last line of the letter supports this: ‘May your domination and paternity alike long prevail.’¹² All these points effectively refute those who argue for a date before 1312, asserting that the heading was added some time after the letter.

Furthermore, Dondaine points to numerous items in the text that are consistent throughout the manuscripts, and thus presumably authentic, that could not have been written in the thirteenth century, including Clement V’s confirmation of the Feast of Corpus Christi at the Council of Vienne in 1311. He was also able to narrow the date of composition slightly. Since Tolomeo mentions the canonization of Pietro da Morrone, it must have been written after 5 May 1313; since he refers to Giles of Rome as still alive, and Tolomeo would certainly have known when he died since they were both at the papal court, it must have been written before 22 December 1316. This means that unless we assume many interpolations, there was never a thirteenth-century edition that Tolomeo later

¹⁰ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, col. 751: ‘His rationibus motus, huic praesenti operi iuxta modulum meae parvitatis conatum ad scribendum praefata, vestraeque paternitati curavi transmittere, cuius me correctioni et examinationi commito, tamquam doctori et professori sacrae pagina in Schola Parisiensi, et eiusdem Ordinis Praedicatorum, at sicut Lectori Sacri Palatii quondam in Romana Curia constituto.’

¹¹ Guillaume Mollat, *Étude critique sur les Vitae paparum avenionensium d’Étienne Baluze* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1917), pp. 5–6.

¹² *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, col. 752: ‘Valeat vestra dominatio simulque paternitas per tempora longiora.’ See Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 160.

extended through 1316, as has sometimes been suggested.¹³ On the other hand, I will argue below that Tolomeo may have written some parts of what eventually became *Historia ecclesiastica nova* for inclusion in a work that he mentioned frequently but that appears not to have been completed and of which no manuscripts survive, his *Historia tripartita*.

Finally, there are many errors of chronology in the text. The same is true of the *Annales*, and it has often been said that Tolomeo was not an exceptionally careful historian. But here, unlike in the *Annales*, Tolomeo occasionally got dates wrong for events that he knew well, such as putting Pietro da Morrone's death in 1302 or 1303 instead of 1296, even though he had been closely connected with him. Dondaine provided other such examples, and sought to explain them by the fact that in, say, 1315, Tolomeo was approaching eighty, and his memory may have begun to fade.¹⁴ We know that he was senile ten years later in Torcello, so this is a reasonable guess, though John XXII was unlikely to have appointed him bishop if it was clear that he was not in control of his faculties. This would argue for the latest possible date for completion. If we accept the memory loss, it would be further support for the view that the parts through 1295 could not have been written decades earlier, when Tolomeo was relatively young.

There remains the question of the continuation. It would be rather odd if Tolomeo, who wanted to create a new standard church history, would not have brought it at least roughly up to date. Since we have effectively barred the idea of a very early edition updated decades later, all that seems possible is that Tolomeo was working on his history when between 1313 and 1316, for some reason, he thought it would be a good idea to present a copy to his patron in an incomplete condition. This manuscript then became the basis for the early group of manuscripts. Later, he added the continuation through 1316, and this became the basis for one of the other groups of manuscripts. Against this is the fact that no early versions of the continuation survive and that the format of the continuation is different from the rest of the book, consisting of long chapters on each pope (with a very few unnumbered internal heads) rather than a number of short ones. On the other hand, there are numerous passages, at least for the years up to 1303, that are very close or identical to passages in *Annales*, which ends in that year. Of course, if Tolomeo brought his own copy of *Annales* to Avignon, a continuer there could well have used it. And perhaps the reason that Tolomeo stopped

¹³ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', pp. 160–64; *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, xxii.25, xxiv.35, xxiv.14.

¹⁴ Dondaine, 'Opuscula', pp. 162, 164–65.

before the present was that he felt he was no longer up to continuing the work, and he may even have asked a colleague to do it for him. Once again the bottom line is that we will have to wait for Schmugge's edition before we can be more definite about this and many other issues.

LOST AND APOCRYPHAL WORKS

The lost and apocryphal works of Tolomeo consist of several treatises to which Tolomeo refers, for which no manuscripts are known today. Tolomeo appears to have had at times an overall plan for a grand history of the world into which most of his existing works fit. Several of the other titles he mentions are of works that would fill in the gaps in this plan.

I. ‘Historia tripartita’ (Three-Part History) and ‘Historia quadripartita’ (Four-Part History)

Occasionally, most frequently in the *De operibus sex dierum*, Tolomeo mentions a *Historia tripartita* and *Historia quadripartita* as works that would offer a more detailed treatment of a subject. Though the adjective *our*, applied to each of the works in several places, makes it clear that the reference is to Tolomeo’s own writing, whether finished or planned, and not to other similarly named works, Dondaine, following Krammer, asserts that both designations refer to the same projected work, of which Tolomeo had completed only one book, now lost. Through a close analysis of all of Tolomeo’s citations of these works, Panella came to a very different conclusion.¹ Interestingly, both Dondaine and Panella refer to the same passage in *De operibus sex dierum* to justify their conclusions. In the penultimate sentence of that work Tolomeo mentions a number of things that he had not treated, since they were beyond the scope of the work, and recommends to the reader: ‘You should have recourse to our *Quadripartita* and

¹ Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 171; Krammer, introduction to *De iurisdictione imperii*, p. xl ix; Panella, ‘Rilettura’, pp. 102–11.

Tripartita in which what the famous orthodox doctors of the church handed down to us about this is treated.²

Outside of Tolomeo's writings there are no credible contemporary citations of either work. A seeming near-contemporary citation of *Tripartita* from the late fourteenth century turns out on closer inspection to be illusory. The Dominican writer Michele Pelagallo da Siena, in his *Dialogi hierarchie subcelestis de reformatio[n]e ecclesiae militantis*, listed a number of sources for further study: 'Read, if you like [...] the histories of the Roman Pontiffs to Jerome etc. the chronicles of Tholomeo of Lucca *Tripartitam* Sicard of Cremona.' I have purposely left out, as they would be in the manuscript, commas separating items of the list. Correctly parsed, what we have here is a reference to Tolomeo's chronicles and to another *Historia tripartita*, presumably that of Cassiodorus/Epiphanius. 'Chronicles' must refer to *Historia ecclesiastica nova* and not *Annales*, which does not deal with early popes. Panella has provided other examples in the literature containing the same usage to solidify his interpretation.³

There are two medieval catalogues of Dominican writers that include the *Historia tripartita* but not the *Quadripartita*. That of Stams, possibly from the late fourteenth century, has this entry: 'Brother Tolomeo (compiled) a book called *Tripartita*. Likewise, a book *De regimine principum*. Likewise, *Chronicles*.' And in the early fifteenth-century catalogue of Pignon we find: 'Brother Tholomeo compiled a notable *Tripartita historia* in three volumes. Likewise, a book *De regimine [principum]*. Likewise, *Chronicles*. Likewise, *De operibus sex dierum*.' Dondaine does not mention the former, but dismisses the latter as suspect, in part because Tolomeo was not accustomed to writing such vast works, and in part because he still referred to the *Tripartita* in the future tense in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. But Panella points to the general reliability of Pignon, and the fact that Pignon refers to two other unknown works: Tolomeo's *De operibus sex dierum* (later found), for which he is the only medieval source, and writings of

² *De operibus sex dierum*, xv.8 (epilogue), pp. 238–39: 'Porro de lapsu hominis, cuius difficilis est materia ad perrequarendum causas iuxta historiae seriem, quia primum statum egreditur, et transcendit opera sex dierum, his omisimus aliquid scribere, sed ad quadripartitam vel tripartitam nostram recurras, in quibus de ipso agitur quantum nobis praclarissimi orthodoxae fidei tradiderunt doctores.'

³ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 108–09; *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. by Quétif and Echard, pp. 543, 685; Michele Pelagallo da Siena, *Dialogi hierarchie subcelestis de reformatio[n]e ecclesiae militantis*, IV.9, Vaticani Reginensi lat. MS 715, fol. 38^{r–v} (cited by Panella): 'Lege, si liber [...] romanorum pontificum historias ad Ieronimum etc. cronicas Tholomei de Luca *Tripartitam* Sicardi de Cremona.'

Brother Ubaldo from the fourteenth century, all doubtless present in the Luccan conventional library of his time. Though these two sources depend on each other or a common source, they are certainly worthy of some credence. Panella also doubted the part about three volumes, but suggested that this may have derived from an extrapolation of the title or from knowledge of Cassiodorus's history.⁴

Tolomeo's references are somewhat ambiguous; sometimes he seems to refer to something already written, sometimes to a future work. For example, late in his career, in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, Tolomeo addressed his future plans: 'Some deeds of the two [Peter and Paul] are well known, which we intend to declare more fully in the thirteenth book of our *Historia tripartita*.' In contrast, in the earlier *Annales* he notes that a letter of Pope Nicholas III to Emperor Rudolf 'has been recorded in our *Tripartita*'. And already in *De iurisdictione imperii* he acted as if he had already written *Quadripartita*: 'There were civil wars among the Romans, to restore reason to all which pertains to the *Historia quadripartita*, where it is sufficiently reported.'⁵ Panella argues that, read correctly, none of the references to *Quadripartita* indicate decisively that Tolomeo had even started it; instead, they use the future tense or they say that certain material is reserved to *Quadripartita*. Even the passage from *De iurisdictione imperii* cited above with the present tense verb 'is reported' appears in some manuscripts as 'will be reported'.⁶

If we look at the citations of the two works under discussion, two things stand out. First, in the undoubtedly late *Annales* and *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, references

⁴ Panella, 'Rilettura', p. 110; *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica*, p. 64, no. 58: 'Frater Ptholomeus (compilavit) librum qui dicitur *Tripartita*. Item librum *De regimine principum*. Item *Cronicam*'; *ibid.*, p. 29, no. 59: 'Frater Tholomeus de Luca compilavit notabilem *Tripartitam historiam* in tribus voluminibus. Item librum *De regimine [principum]*. Item *Cronicas*. Item *De operibus sex dierum*'.

⁵ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, I.18, col. 767: 'Ceterum de gestis istorum duorum Apostolorum satis copiose traditur, quos intendimus in XIII Libro Historiae nostrae *Tripartitae* copiosius declarare'; *Annales*, 1277, p. 187: 'ut in nostra *tripartita* est memoratum'. *De iurisdictione imperii*, chap. 25, p. 49: 'fuerunt bella civilia inter Romanos, de quibus omnibus rationem reddere ad *quadripartitam historiam* pertinet'. The other references by Tolomeo to these works are as follows: in *De operibus sex dierum*: I.5, pp. 24–25, VIII.6, p. 103, IX.8, p. 118 (*Quadripartita*), XIV.2, p. 199 (*Tripartita*), XIV.4, pp. 203–04, XV.8, pp. 238–89 (both). Also in a table of contents at the beginning of the only manuscript of *De operibus sex dierum* there is a mention of *Quadripartita* under XV.10, p. 13 (which really corresponds to text XV.8, which refers to both works). Finally, in a gloss to II.7, p. 144, in a discussion of the age of Adam when he was created, a gloss written by the copyist of the whole manuscript reads: 'Hoc in ystoria *quadripartita*'. In *Historia ecclesiastica nova*: I.1, col. 755, I.4, col. 759, I.18, col. 767 (*Tripartita*).

⁶ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 108, 103.

are only to *Tripartita*. In the early *De iurisdictione imperii*, the one reference is to *Quadripartita*, and in the intermediate *De operibus sex dierum* (if Panella's chronology is correct), there are references to both. Second, Tolomeo makes specific citations only to the *Tripartita*, and his references to it usually specify a particular subdivision: to the Preface (*De operibus sex dierum*, VIII.6), Books I and II (*De operibus sex dierum*, XIV.4), Book II (*Historia ecclesiastica nova*, I.1), Book XII (*Historia ecclesiastica nova*, I.4), and Book XIII (*Historia ecclesiastica nova*, I.18). In contrast, the references to *Quadripartita* are vague. At the very least this suggests that Tolomeo had worked out the structure of *Tripartita* in detail, and since the earliest references are to the beginning, while later ones refer to later books, it seems likely that he worked on it off and on over a long period. Perhaps it was not complete when Tolomeo referred to Books XII and XIII in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, thus the passage about intending to do something there, but it seems likely that he had written a considerable portion. Since he was already old at that point and would soon be sent off to Torcello, he likely never finished it, and the one manuscript of it remained to surface in the slightly later catalogues, but then was lost.

We can tell something about the works' proposed or actual contents from Tolomeo's citations of them. In *De operibus sex dierum*, Book XIV, Chapter 4, in a discussion of the Nile River, he says that *Quadripartita* treats the hippopotamus and *Tripartita* the cataracts of the Nile and the divisions of Egypt. In Book XIV, Chapter 2, he discusses the different regions of the world and their climates and refers to *Tripartita* in connection to the cold southern climate of the Mount Atlantis. In *Historia ecclesiastica nova* Book I, Chapter 1, Tolomeo mentions that the Romans never controlled Ethiopia because of its inaccessibility, and refers to *Tripartita* in support of his description of Ethiopian geography.

In *De operibus sex dierum*, Book IX, Chapter 8, referring to *Quadripartita* in a discussion of how ancestral vegetarians could have lived longer than us when meat is a better food, Tolomeo indicates that that work takes up the events of Genesis after the days of Creation; in Book VIII, Chapter 6, he mentions that it will discuss the curse of humans after sin; in the Epilogue he adds that both works consider the Fall. In Book I, Chapter 5, briefly considering the age and ages of the world, and the problems of differing chronologies and calendars in different traditions, he defers a further consideration of these issues to the *Quadripartita*. In *De iurisdictione imperii*, Chapter 25, Tolomeo indicates that *Quadripartita* has a more complete treatment of the Four World Empires. Significantly, he includes this reference after discussing the great pagan emperors, but before the Fifth Christian Empire of the Roman Catholic Church.

In *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, Book I, Chapter 4, Tolomeo mentions that *Tripartita*, Book XII, has a discussion of the origin and nature of the Magi who came to worship Christ, and Book I, Chapter 18, defers a further discussion of Peter and Paul to *Tripartita*, Book XIII. Finally, *Annales* refers to *Tripartita* for information about Pope Nicholas III's 1277 letter about church affairs to King Rudolf of Germany.

This information led Panella to believe that he could reconstruct, at least provisionally, Tolomeo's grand scheme in his writings, and in particular the role of the two works under discussion. In his opinion, Tolomeo wanted to complete a world history, and most of his writings were designed to be parts of this.⁷ Most medieval world chronicles begin with Creation and lead on, through ecclesiastical and secular history, to conclude either with the author's own time or with the events of Apocalypse. *De operibus sex dierum* clearly could be the first section of such a chronicle. All indications are that *Quadripartita* was to take up the story where *De operibus sex dierum* left off and look at ancient history using the framework of the world-empire theory that Tolomeo employed as far back as *De iurisdictione imperii*. It seems as if its emphasis was on secular history, since *Tripartita* would seem to concentrate on spiritual history. The latter certainly develops Christian history from the time of Christ and the Apostles, but since events near Christ's birth are in Book XII, the earlier books must have dealt with Jewish history, something confirmed by his statement that both books dealt with humans after sin, and both have material related to the events, geography, and natural history of the Old Testament world. In this schema, *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, overlapping to some extent with *Tripartita*, as *Tripartita* and *Quadripartita* overlapped for the earlier period, would then bring church and, to a degree, secular history up to the author's day.

The only really anomalous citation is the one in *Annales* to a 1277 letter in *Tripartita*. This does not seem to fit into the proposed schema, since it would prolong the time-scheme of *Tripartita* until near the end of the period covered by *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. To me, what seems likely to have happened is that when Tolomeo wrote *Annales* he had not yet conceived *Historia ecclesiastica nova* as a separate work and intended *Tripartita* to contain all the ecclesiastical history. Later he moved the parts of *Tripartita* that he had already written about the post-Apostolic period to *Historia ecclesiastica nova*. There all the references to *Tripartita* occur in Book I, where Tolomeo indicates that more information about Jesus and his Apostles may be found. This suggests that by that time he intended

⁷ Panella, 'Rilettura', pp. 107–11. In what follows I combine my interpretation with that of Panella.

to end *Tripartita* with a detailed treatment of this period, and included a mere summary of it in *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, since it was integral to the history of the church.

In analogy to this, it is possible that Tolomeo intended to split the *Quadripartita* as well. He seems to have intended to write a work about the emperors parallel to that of the popes, as I will discuss below. If he did this he would likely have ended *Quadripartita* at the end of the Roman Republic. As I will also mention below, he may have wanted to write a history of the Frankish kings, which would complement the imperial history and would demonstrate his characteristic stress on the importance of France to secular history.

II. ‘Catalogus imperatorum’ (*Catalogue of the Emperors*) and ‘Catalogus regum Francorum’ (*Catalogue of the Kings of the Franks*)

Another work to which Tolomeo referred is a catalogue of the emperors. Dondaine believed that Tolomeo never wrote it,⁸ although there is no evidence either way except for its current nonexistence. What Tolomeo said about it suggests that it was meant to be more than a list, since in the prologue to Book I of *Historia ecclesiastica nova* Tolomeo mentions that it was proper to write the chronological history of the popes before that of the emperors,⁹ implying that *Historia ecclesiastica nova* itself is a catalogue of popes. He also says, ‘but what the said Henry [VI] did in the Empire we leave to the *Catalogue of Emperors*’ (XX.46). Sometimes he wrote in the future tense, clearly implying a specific work to come, for example, in Book II, Chapter 12: ‘these things will be treated in the *Catalogue of Emperors*.’ On the other hand, he sometimes, as in Book II, Chapter 7, referred to catalogues — including, but not limited to, catalogues of emperors — as if he is simply using the word as a synonym for a list: ‘if you refer to the catalogue of emperors [...].’ He does not even seem to imply that he had a particular list in mind, and certainly not one not yet written.¹⁰ It is also possible that he intended to write a *Catalogue of the Kings of the Franks*, to which he possibly alluded in one passage of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*: referring to the Christianity of Clovis and the later Frankish

⁸ Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 171

⁹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, I.1, col. 758.

¹⁰ Emperors: *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, I.3; I.10; II.12; XX.46, etc. Kings: *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, VII.11; II.12: ‘de quibus in Catalogo Imperatorum agetur’; II.7: ‘si ad catalogum Imperatorum recurras’; XX.46: ‘quid autem fecerit dictus Henricus in Imperio, catalogo relinquimus Imperatorum’.

kings, he writes: ‘as will be clear in their catalogue’.¹¹ But again, I think this is a generic use and not a projected work. In the sections here and the ones on the Frankish kings and the legitimacy of the Carolingians in Book XIV, Tolomeo constantly mentions Ammonius’s *History of the Franks* and several other sources, but never this alleged catalogue. Another possibility is that Tolomeo intended to include all secular rulers in the *Catalogus imperatorum*. Karl Krüger supports this notion, referring to the passage just cited, in which Tolomeo writes that he lacked the material to deal with Arthur and the British kings, and ‘we leave this to the Catalogue of the Emperors’.¹² ‘Their catalogue’ of the Frankish kings could then be simply another reference to *Catalogus imperatorum*.

III. ‘De philosophia morale’ (On Moral Philosophy)

In *De operibus sex dierum*, Tolomeo wrote:

Every action and perfection in the human depends on the rational soul. But to speak of it with regard to their operations is not the present business, because this all rests on moral philosophy, of which we will compose a special treatise elsewhere: but now it suffices merely to say something about its nature.¹³

Here he announces a future treatise on moral philosophy, but there is no evidence he ever wrote it, and he never mentions it again.

IV. ‘De principatu oeconomico’ (On Household Management) and ‘De virtutibus principatum’ (On the Virtues of Rulers) [possible titles]

Finally, in *De regimine principum* Tolomeo distinguishes four forms of lordship of human over human: regal and sacerdotal rule (the pope only), regal rule (including imperial rule), political rule, and household rule. The bulk of *De regimine principum* is devoted to discussing the first three forms. Then, in the last paragraph of the work, Tolomeo says:

¹¹ *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, 6.11, col. 869. Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 171, incorrectly places it in 7.11.

¹² Krüger, *Ptolomaeus Lucensis*, pp. 26–27.

¹³ *De operibus sex dierum*, XIII.19, p. 191; Dondaine, ‘Opuscula’, p. 171: ‘Omnis actio, et perfectio in homine ab anima rationali dependet. Sed de ipsa loqui quantum ad suas operationes non est praesentis negotii, quia tota consistit circa philosophiam moralem, de qua alibi speciale faciemus tractatum: nunc autem solum sufficiat aliquid dicere de eius natura.’

It remains further to treat the rule of household management, that is the government of the home, which is that of the paterfamilias, whose rule has an altogether distinct matter from other rules. Therefore, it seems to be suitable for me to compose this work separately, and divide it into books or treatises and their chapters according to the requirements of the nature of the facts, which mode Aristotle also follows in this matter. The same holds for the virtues which are required for the parts of any government, whether of subjects, rectors, rulers, or faithful subjects, because the order of teaching the art of living requires this, and not that I should treat them at the same time and in a mixed fashion as some have done, because this would impede the understanding of learning and oppose the norm of teaching.¹⁴

Here Tolomeo announces two works: one on the household and another on the virtues of rulers, though no one seems to have noticed the second. There is no evidence that Tolomeo ever wrote either of them.

¹⁴ *De regimine principum*, IV.28.10: ‘Restat ulterius De principatu oeconomico, hoc est de regimine domus, quod est patrisfamilias: qui quidem materiam habet omnino distinctam ab aliis principatibus. Et ideo congruum videtur hoc per se opus componere, distinguendo per libros sive tractatus, et sua capitula, prout natura facti requirit: qua in re philosophus eumdem modum tenet. Et ultimum de virtutibus quae requiruntur ad partes regiminis in quocumque genere, sive sint subditi, sive rectores, sive principes, sive subiecti fideles; quia sic requirit ordo doctrinae in arte vivendi, et non simul ac mixtim tractare de ipsis, ut quidam fecerunt: quia hoc est impedire intellectum discentis, et est contra normam dicentis.’

Appendix 1

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE, TIMES, AND WORKS OF TOLOMEO FIADONI

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|----------------|--|
| 1063 | Date with which Tolomeo began <i>Annales</i> , the election of Bishop Anselm of Lucca as Pope Alexander II |
| 1203 | Tolomeo reports that the <i>popolani</i> temporarily expelled the nobles from Lucca |
| 1216 | Pope Honorius III confirms the Dominican order |
| 1223 | Pope Honorius III confirms the Franciscan order |
| 1227 | 19 March — Election of Pope Gregory IX |
| 1236 | Traditional date for Tolomeo's birth in Lucca (latest possible date c. 1240); San Romano founded in Lucca |
| 1238 | 8 March — Land sale in Lucca witnessed by Iacopini, son of the late Iacobo Fiadoni |
| 1239 | Beginning of thirty-year struggle of the papacy with the Hohenstaufen |
| c. 1240 | Brothers of San Romano embark on an ambitious building project for their church |
| 1241 | 4 May — Pisan fleet seizes bishops on Genoan ships bound for a general council against Emperor Frederick II
after 19 May — Dominican General Chapter at Paris elects Johannes Teutonicus as master general
21 August — Death of Pope Gregory IX in Rome
25 October — Cardinals in Rome under duress from Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini elect Pope Celestine IV |

- 10 November — Death of Celestine IV; twenty-month vacancy follows, until Emperor Frederick II releases captive cardinals
- 1243** 25 June — Election at Anagni of Pope Innocent IV
- 1245** Innocent IV's Council of Lyon instigates revolts against Frederick II
- 1250s** Countess Capoana marries Lazzaro Lanfranchi Ghirardini of Lucca
- 1250** 13 December — Emperor Frederick II dies; succeeded by Conrad IV, and under him Manfred in Sicily
- 1251** Earliest date for Tolomeo to have entered Dominican order at San Romano
- 5 November — Master General Johannes Teutonicus dies
- 1254** May — Dominican General Chapter at Budapest elects Humbert de Romans master general
- 21 May — Conrad dies in Sicily; succeeded by a baby, Conradin; Manfred made regent
- 7 December — Death of Pope Innocent IV at Naples
- 12 December — Election at Naples of Pope Alexander IV
- 1255 or 1256** First documented mention of Tolomeo, who cites himself as a witness to the victory of the church party over Emperor Manfred in Lombardy
- 1257** Tolomeo reports a clash in Lucca between the poor and the lower *popolani* versus the rich *popolani* and the nobility
- 1259** 25 March — Sale of a field with Iacopini, son of the late Iacobo Fiadoni, present
- 1260s** First full Latin translation of Aristotle's *Politics*
- 1260** For many Spiritual Franciscans and others, the year in which Joachim of Fiore's Third Age of the world would begin
- 4 September — Crushing Ghibelline victory at Montaperti over Florence and Luccan allies; Lucca left as sole Guelph city in Tuscany
- 1261** The year in *Historia ecclesiastica nova* when Tolomeo first mentions Thomas Aquinas

- Earliest surviving fragment of a constitution of the Luccan *popolo* 25 May — Death in Viterbo of Pope Alexander IV, who had been driven from Rome by Brancaleone, captain of the *popolo*
- 29 August — French pope Urban IV elected; reasserts papal authority in Rome, but establishes his curia in Orvieto
- 1261–65** Tolomeo probably met Thomas Aquinas in Orvieto
- 1262** The year in *Annales* when Tolomeo first mentions Thomas Aquinas
- 2 July — Tolomeo not named in San Romano capitular listing
- September — Urban IV offers Sicilian throne to Charles of Anjou
- 1263** May — Dominican General Chapter at London absolves Master General Humbert de Romans
- 1264** Lucca forced to accept rule of the imperial vicar, Count Guido Novalli
- June — Dominican General Chapter at Paris elects John of Vercelli master general
- 2 October — Death of Urban IV at Perugia
- 1265–68** Tolomeo likely studied in Rome with Thomas Aquinas at Santa Sabina
- c.* **1265** Construction of Lucca's expanded second set of walls
- 5 February — Election of French pope Clement IV
- 23 May — Entrance of Charles of Anjou into Rome; he is made senator
- 1266** 26 February — Charles of Valois defeats Manfred in the Battle of Benevento
- Lucca returns to Guelph alliance
- 1267** 26 January — Tolomeo not named in San Romano capitular listing
- Dominican Roman Provincial Chapter held in Lucca; Thomas Aquinas attends
- Charles of Anjou invades Tuscany and restores Lucca's lost territories

- 1268** May — Conradin loots Santa Sabina in Rome
 23 August — Charles of Anjou defeats Conradin at Tagliacozzo
 29 November — Death of Clement IV at Viterbo; thirty-three-month vacancy follows
 Tolomeo and Thomas Aquinas leave Rome; Tolomeo returns to San Romano (date unknown)
- 1269** Thomas Aquinas returns to Paris
- c.1270** Countess Capoana widowed
- 1270** Charles of Anjou arranges peace between Pisa and Lucca
- 1271–73** Likely date for Thomas Aquinas's part of *De regimine principum*
- 1271** 1 September — Election of Pope Gregory X at Viterbo
- 1272** 27 April — Santa Zita dies in Lucca and immediately becomes a cult figure
 June — Dominican Provincial Chapter in Florence chooses Thomas to head a general *studium* of theology; he picks Naples
 Summer — Tolomeo journeys from Florence or Rome to Naples with Thomas Aquinas, serves as his confessor, and witnesses his miraculous healing of Brother Raymond
- 1272–74** Tolomeo studies in Naples with Thomas
- 1273** Election of Rudolf von Habsburg as an imperial candidate acceptable to pope and electors and a balance to Charles of Anjou's ambitions
- 1274** 7 March — Death of Thomas Aquinas on the way to the Council of Lyon
 c. 7 March — Brother in Naples has a vision of St Paul leading Thomas Aquinas away
 c. 10 March — Tolomeo is in Naples when a messenger arrives to announce Aquinas's death
 6 July — Council of Lyon announces a (short-lived) union with the Greek Church
 26 September — Rudolf confirmed as emperor by Gregory X, but never crowned

- 1275** Tolomeo possibly returns to San Romano; reports a stay of all the cardinals in Lucca
- after 1275** Countess Capoana marries Count Ugolino della Gherardesca da Pisa (or ‘di Donoratico’)
- 1276** 10 January — Death of Gregory X at Arezzo
21 January — Election of first Dominican pope, Innocent V, at Arezzo
May — Tolomeo (possibly) attends the General Chapter in Pisa; reports Luccan attack on Pisa while the chapter was in session
22 June — Death of Innocent V at Rome
11 July — Election of Pope Adrian V at Rome
18 August — Death of Adrian V at Viterbo
8 September — Election of Pope John XXI at Viterbo
- 1277** 20 May — Death of John XXI at Viterbo
25 November — Election of Pope Nicholas III at Viterbo; earliest possible date for Tolomeo’s *De iurisdictione imperii*
- 1278** Beginning of the feud in Lucca between the Obizi/Bernarducci and Mordecastelli/Ciapparoni/Interminelli families, who would later head the local Black and White Guelph factions
18 July — Papal bull *Fundamenta militantis ecclesie*, establishing Roman control over Rome and papal consultation with cardinals
24 September — Resignation of Charles of Anjou as Tuscan vicar at insistence of Nicholas III; replaced by the Dominican cardinal Latino Malabranca; most likely latest date for Tolomeo’s *De iurisdictione imperii*
- 1279** 27 February — Tolomeo not named in San Romano capitular listing
- 1280** 22 August — Death of Nicholas III at Viterbo
- 1281** New church of San Romano consecrated
22 February — Election of the French pope Martin IV at Viterbo
21 May — Pope Martin urges Tuscany to accept the imperial vicar

- 20 August — Luccan slaughter of Pescians for receiving the imperial chancellor
- 1282**
- 31 March — Sicilian Vespers rebellion against Charles of Anjou
 - 16 May — Tolomeo possibly attends the General Chapter in Vienne
 - 30 August — Peter of Aragon lands in Sicily to assert his claim to the throne; beginning of a twenty-year war
 - Tolomeo reports seeing the assembly of a fleet in the Rhône at Tarascon in preparation for an attack on Vienne
 - Tolomeo likely returns to San Romano
- 1283**
- 3 November — Master General John of Vercelli dies
- 1284**
- Count Ugolino becomes *podestà* and captain of the *popolo* of Pisa after Pisan defeat by Genoa in the disastrous sea battle of Meloria
- 1285–95**
- Probable range for Tolomeo's composition of *De operibus sex dierum*
- 1285**
- 7 January — Death of Charles of Anjou; succeeded by Charles II of Salerno
 - 16 January — Tolomeo is named in San Romano capitular listing
 - 28 March — Death of Martin IV at Perugia
 - 2 April — Election of Pope Honorius IV at Perugia
 - May — Dominican General Chapter at Bologna elects Munio de Zamora master general
 - Tolomeo is in southern France and possibly Spain; writes of hearing reports of a battle between Philip III and Peter of Aragon
- 1287**
- Civic discord in Pisa directed against Count Ugolino
 - 3 April — Death of Honorius IV at Rome
 - Papal Conclave meets at Santa Sabina in Rome; fever causes adjournment
 - Roman Provincial Chapter at Santa Sabina in Rome excuses Brothers Tolomeo and Bono from attending lectures to help prepare San Romano for the 1288 General Chapter

- 1288** Count Ugolino captured, jailed, starved to death; Countess Capoana faces persecution in Pisa
15 February — Election of the first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV, at Santa Sabina
May — Dominican General and Provincial Chapters held in Lucca; Tolomeo, Guglielmo di Tocco, and others named as preachers general; San Romano receives five hundred florins from the Commune of Lucca and many donations from private citizens to finance the event
May? — Tolomeo becomes Prior of San Romano when Prior Salvo da Bargo is elected as provincial prior
27 August — Tolomeo not named in San Romano capitular listing
30 October — Tolomeo presents a copy of a 22 September papal bull, with a note in his handwriting on the back, to the arch-deacons of the Hospice of San Pellegrino della Alpi, whose privileges the bull concerns
Lucca pays the imperial vicar, Count Percivallis de Flesco, twelve thousand florins for formal lordship of their territories
- 1289** Black versus White Guelph feud spreads to Lucca from Pistoia
20 January — Tolomeo names a procurator for settling issues between the Dominican houses of Lucca and Prato
3 May — Tolomeo is named executor of the will of Lord Ugolino Cascina (not Count Ugolino)
29 June — Tolomeo is a witness to the will of a certain Ughetto at San Michele in Guamo but is not referred to as ‘prior’
18 October — Tolomeo attends the Provincial Chapter in Viterbo and is possibly absolved of his priorate there
13 December — Nicholas IV announces an indulgence for those visiting San Romano on all the feasts of the Virgin
- 1291** January and/or February — Tolomeo witnesses Luccan document(s); he not referred to as ‘prior’
12 April — Nicholas IV deposes Master General Munio de Zamora; the Dominican order resists

- 18 May — The last crusader city in Palestine, Acre, captured by the Sultan of Egypt
- 15 July — Death of Emperor Rudolf von Habsburg
- 1292**
- 4 April — Death of Nicholas IV in Rome
- 14 April — Papal Conclave meets in Rome; adjourns in the summer
- May — Dominican General Chapter at Rome elects Stephen of Besançon as master general
- May — Roman Provincial Chapter at Rome names Tolomeo lector in San Romano
- 1293**
- 18 October — Papal conclave reassembles in Perugia
- 12 December — ‘Brother’ Tolomeo named as an executor of the will of Trasmondino Burlamacchi of Lucca
- 24 December — ‘Brother’ Tolomeo is a witness to a settlement in the will of the dyer Vannelli
- 1294**
- Early spring — Visit of Charles II of Naples to Lucca on route to papal conclave in Perugia; Tolomeo reports that he was greeted by knights and *popolo*
- Spring — Tolomeo possibly accompanies Charles II to the south as an agent of the Dominican cardinal Latino Malabranca to Pietro da Morrone, hermit of Abruzzi
- 5 July — Cardinal Latino Malabranca receives a letter from Morrone warning of God’s wrath if they do not elect a pope; Morrone immediately elected as Pope Celestine V
- Summer–early winter — Tolomeo is present at the court of Celestine V in Aquila and Naples
- 29 August — Tolomeo attends the coronation of Celestine V at Aquila in Abruzzi
- 22 November — Master General Stephen of Besançon dies in San Romano and is buried there
- 6 December — Tolomeo takes part in the procession at Naples asking Celestine V not to resign
- 13 December (19 December according to Tolomeo) — Celestine V resigns at Naples

- 24 December — Election of Pope Boniface VIII at Naples
- Late 1294 or early 1295 — Tolomeo returns to Lucca and becomes prior once again
- 1295**
- 6 February — Bishop Paganello de Porcari of Lucca assigns wills to Brother Marcho and 'Prior' Tolomeo
 - 13 February — Boniface VIII threatens Pisa with ecclesiastical sanctions for persecuting Countess Capoana, who before July moved to Lucca and before 1297 to the grounds of San Romano
 - 22 February — Tolomeo and San Romano are named separate beneficiaries of the will of the notary Scolario; Tolomeo is present when the document is drawn up
 - 3 July — Tolomeo is a witness to a document of San Romano in which Filippo paid monies owed to Countess Capoana
- 1296**
- May — Dominican General Chapter at Strasbourg elects Nicholas of Treviso master general
- 1296–1303**
- Boniface VIII locked in a struggle with King Philip IV the Fair of France
- 1297**
- 11 August — 'Prior' Tolomeo and others, as executors, appoint agents to carry out the will of Archbishop Ruffino of Milan
 - 27 August — Countess Capoana, named as a resident of San Romano, arranges for the estate of her dead son from her first marriage, Maghinardo, with Tolomeo's assistance
 - September — Roman Provincial Chapter in Perugia condemns 'Brother' Tolomeo and other brothers to seven days on bread and water for serving meat in their convent at a feast for a new knight
 - 8, 9, 19 October — 'Brother' Tolomeo witnesses documents pertaining to Countess Capoana's affairs; in one the prior (not Tolomeo) is also present
 - 27 November — Brother Tederico, Bishop of Cervia, gives five hundred denarii for the building an infirmary at San Romano
- 1298**
- Tolomeo reported (unconfirmed) to have served as a mediator with Ricomo de Bulgarini of the Cavalieri Gaudenti

- 18 March — As part of his bequest to San Romano, Tederico enjoins the prior to give forty Bolognese soldi annually to Tolomeo and each of several other brothers for their clothing and other necessities
- 26 March — Tederico buys land and bequeaths one-ninth of its proceeds to San Romano after his death
- 24 June — Tolomeo witnesses the sale to Homodeo Fiadoni of Lazzaro's rights and action versus the heirs and estate of Lord Maghinardo, son of Countess Capoana
- 24 June — Tolomeo is chosen as arbitrator in a dispute
- 3 September — Tolomeo witnesses Homodeo Fiadoni's sale to Capoana of the rights he bought on 24 June, and for the same amount
- 7 November — Subprior Lazzaro, acting as vicar for Prior Ugo, appoints syndics to sell some land San Romano owned in Lucca with the consent of Tolomeo and the other brothers
- December — Death of Brother Tederico, Bishop of Cervia
- 1299**
- early 1299 — Nicholas of Treviso resigns as Dominican master general to become Cardinal Bishop of Ostia
- 11 January — Tolomeo witnesses the purchase by Countess Capoana of two pieces of land and the rental of one of them
- June — Roman Provincial Chapter in Pistoia names Tolomeo *diffinitor* of the General Chapter with Prior Simone Salterelli of Santa Maria Novella as his *socius*; Ugo de' Borgognoni of San Romano elected as provincial prior
- 8 July — Lemmus sells his rights against the heirs of Maghinardo Lazzaro to Homodeo Fiadoni
- 19 November — Tolomeo witnesses Homodeo Fiadoni's sale of the rights he bought on 8 July to Countess Capoana
- c.* **1300–08**
- Countess Capoana dies and is buried in San Romano; named Tolomeo and others as executors (date unknown)
- 1300**
- 17 February — Tolomeo acts as executor to confirm his settling of the bequest of ten lire by the late Luccan bishop, Paganello de Porcari

- 2 March — Leonardo Petrasso is named Bishop of Albano (Albanese)
- 6 April — Tolomeo witnesses a codicil to the will of Transmondino, son of Baldinotti Burlamacchi, of which he had been named executor on 12 December 1293
- May — Tolomeo likely attends the Dominican General Chapter in Marseille but is not an elector in the election of Master General Albert of Genoa
- July — Tolomeo serves as *diffinitor* of the provincial chapter in Orvieto; chapter probably absolved Simone Salterelli of the priorate of Santa Maria Novella and sent him to San Romano as lector
- 27 August — Master General Albert of Genoa dies
- Probably late summer, but no later than early 1301 — Tolomeo takes office as Prior of Santa Maria Novella in Florence
- 30 September — Tolomeo is represented by a procurator in a document concerning Transmondino's will issued in the town of Guano, near Lucca
- 22 November — Death of Labro Volpelli of the Riccardi bank; Tolomeo is an executor of his will
- 30 November — Boniface VIII orders the Bishop of Lucca to seize Labro's goods; this was never completely executed
- 1301**
- 1 January — White Guelphs murder Black Guelph leader Obizo degli Obizi in Lucca, setting off the final showdown
- May — Tolomeo possibly attends the Dominican General Chapter in Cologne and votes in the election of Master General Bernard de Jusix
- 14 August — Prior Tolomeo on behalf of Santa Maria Novella acknowledges the receipt of a bequest of the late Cisti dei Carini
- 17 August — A procurator leases some land on behalf of Prior Tolomeo and others as executors of the will of Lord Schiatta degli Abati
- 4 September — White Guelphs banished from Lucca

- September — Roman Provincial Chapter at Todi name ‘Prior’ Tolomeo a *diffinitor* of the General Chapter
- 5 November — Tolomeo and other officials reluctantly receive Charles of Valois into Florence at Santa Maria Novella
- Persecution of the White Guelphs begins
- Homodeo Fiadoni mentioned as a merchant with a laden ship and as an appointee of Boniface VIII to help arbitrate the failure of the Riccardi bank of Lucca
- 1302–03**
- Tolomeo probably completed *De regimine principum* (with a maximum possible range of 1298 to 1305)
- 1302**
- January (or late 1301) — Dante exiled from Florence
- February — Tolomeo possibly in Naples to witness volcanic eruption of Ischia
- 24 February — If not in Naples, Tolomeo participates in the procession welcoming the arrival of the new bishop, Lotterio della Tossa, to Florence
- mid-April — Charles of Valois leaves Florence and goes to fight in south Italy
- 10 June — Prior Tolomeo probably attends the General Chapter at Bologna as *diffinitor*
- July — As General Chapter *diffinitor*, Tolomeo probably attended the Provincial Chapter at Perugia; possibly absolved there as Prior of Santa Maria Novella
- 4 November — Latest date for Tolomeo’s election again as Prior of San Romano
- 30 November — Tolomeo named as prior in San Romano capitular listing
- 1303**
- Early 1303 — Florentines and Luccans defeat Florentine White Guelphs and Ghibellines at Mugello; Tolomeo bemoans the decapitation of the ‘best Whites’
- May — Tolomeo is not an official at the General Chapter at Besançon, which appointed Prior Tolomeo and Nicola Bramaso to investigate the slander of Brother Ugo de’ Borgognoni, who was cleared of all charges

- 17 September — Master General Bernard de Jusix dies
- September — Tolomeo serves as *diffinitor* of the Provincial Chapter in Spoleto
- 9 September — Boniface VIII is captured by French troops at Anagni
- 16 September — The French are driven from Anagni; Boniface VIII is released
- 12 October — Death of Boniface VIII at Rome
- 22 October — Election of second Dominican pope, Benedict XI, the former Master General Nicholas of Treviso, at Rome
- 5 December — Clergy of Lucca name Prior Tolomeo and Ugo de' Borgognoni ambassadors to Benedict XI to ask him to end an interdict imposed for paying a tax to Lucca against the Pope's order
- Late 1303 — Florentine *popolani* turn over the government of Florence to Luccans to end violence
- c. 1303–06** Tolomeo wrote *Annales*
- 1304** 7 July — Death of Benedict XI at Rome
- May — Dominican General Chapter at Toulouse elects Aylmer of Piacenza master general
- September — Roman Provincial Chapter in Castello absolves the Luccan prior, presumably Tolomeo
- 1305** June — Election of French pope Clement V at Perugia
- 1306** September — Tolomeo probably present for the Provincial Chapter at Siena, which commissioned him and Brother Prosper to settle a dispute between the Luccan and Pistoian Dominicans
- Early November — Tolomeo present for the election of the abbot of the Benedictine house of San Michele in Guamo
- 26 December — Opizo de Avocatis listed as Prior of San Romano
- 26 December — Agnese Volpelli becomes a *conversa* and hands over her property to San Romano; another unnamed countess (but not Capoana) is said to live there

- 1307** 7 April — Tolomeo and Prosper fulfil their commission by dividing up the preaching territory between Lucca and Pistoia
 12 April — Prior Opizo, with the consent of Tolomeo and other brothers, name Brother Stefano Melunensis procurator and special nuncio
 5 May — Tolomeo named in San Romano capitular listing
- 1308–14** Tolomeo probably wrote *De origine ac translatione et statu Romani Imperii* and *De iurisdictione ecclesie*
- 1308** Statute of 1308 in Lucca greatly expands the power of the *popolo* and restricts a long list of magnates; many of the great merchants leave for Venice
 Emperor Albert I murdered; election of Henry VII of Luxembourg as German king
 French king Phillip IV attacks the Templars and pressures the Pope to acquiesce; Clement calls a council in Vienne for October 1310
- 1309** March — Clement V moves the Curia to Avignon
 28 June — Clement V appoints a judge on Tolomeo's complaint that the Counts of Donoratico had impeded his executing Countess Capoana's bequest of funds to him to spend for pious purposes
 28 June–29 October — Tolomeo moves to Avignon to the house of Leonardo Patrasso, Cardinal Albanese, where he serves as chaplain
 29 October — Tolomeo as executor appoints procurators for the will of Countess Capoana
- 1310** 3 January — Procurators, acting for Tolomeo as executor of Capoana's will, buy land; witnessed by Homodeo Fiadoni
- 1311** 13 January — Tolomeo and others, fulfilling Capoana's will, turn over property to the sisters of the Angels of Lucca
 May — Master General Aylmer of Piacenza absolved by General Chapter at Naples
 October — The Council of Vienne begins

- 30 November — Tolomeo is named an executor in the will of Cardinal Albanense, which includes thirty gold florins ‘to my chaplain’ Tolomeo
- 6 December — Cardinal Albanense dies at San Romano; Tolomeo remains in Avignon
- 1312**
- May — Dominican General Chapter at Carcasonne elect Berengarius de Landora master general; Guillaume de Bayonne unsuccessful candidate favoured by the Pope
- 29 June — Henry VII crowned emperor in Rome and immediately attacks Naples; excommunicated
- 23 or 24 December — Guillaume de Bayonne is made a cardinal
- 23 December 1312–12 September 1317 (date unknown) — Tolomeo publishes *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, dedicating it to Guillaume de Bayonne
- 1313**
- 5 May — Pietro da Morrone (Celestine V) is canonized
- 24 August — Henry VII dies suddenly from fever; a succession dispute between Ludwig of Bavaria and Frederick of Habsburg ensues
- 29 December — Homodeo Fiadoni buys two pieces of land
- 1314**
- Daria, Abbess of San Antonio of Torcello, dies; a four-year vacancy follows
- Domenico elevated as Bishop of Torcello
- 20 April — Clement V dies at Avignon
- 1 May — Papal conclave opens in Avignon suburb of Carpentras; Tolomeo accompanies Cardinal Guillaume
- 15 July — At Cardinal Guillaume’s house in Carpentras, Tolomeo names procurators to conduct business concerning the estate of Labro Volpelli
- August — After a deadlock, Gascon cardinals including Guillaume, with Tolomeo attending, return to Avignon and threaten to hold their own election
- 2 December — Luccan *podestà* seizes the treasury of Pope Clement V stored at San Romano

- 23 December — Homodeo Fiadoni and his wife, Nuccia, conduct business concerning Lazzaro
- 23 December — Tolomeo, as executor of the will of Labro Volpelli, conducts business with Lazzaro
- 1316**
- March — Papal conclave reassembles at Dominican house in Lyon; Tolomeo may have accompanied Cardinal Guillaume
- 28 June — French troops surround the conclave and demand an election
- 7 August — French pope John XXII elected at Lyon
- 1317**
- 16 January — John XXII promotes Domenico, Bishop of Torcello, to be Patriarch of Grado and Giuliano, Benedictine prior of San Giorgio Majori of Venice, to be Bishop of Torcello; Giuliano dies soon after at Avignon
- Master General Berengarius de Landora resigns to become Archbishop of Compostela
- 6 May — Tolomeo and others act as executors in a matter concerning Lazzaro
- 12 September — Guillaume de Bayonne is named Cardinal Bishop of Sabina
- 1318**
- 23 February — John XXII orders the Archbishop of Pisa to look into Tolomeo's charges that his orders with respect to the will of Labro Volpelli have been violated
- 15 March — John XXII appoints Tolomeo Bishop of Torcello
- June — Dominican General Chapter at Lyon elects Hervey Brito master general
- August — Guglielmo di Tocco sees Tolomeo in Avignon and reports that he lives in the house of Guillaume de Bayonne
- September — Roman Provincial Chapter at Florence recognizes new Dominican bishops, including the Bishop of Torcello
- 9 December — Nuccia, widow of Homodeo Fiadoni, leases some land to Stefano
- August 1318 to November 1319 (date unknown) — Tolomeo moves to Torcello to take up his bishopric

- 1319** 17 November — Tolomeo takes the oath of obedience to Domenico, Patriarch of Grado
- 1320** Tolomeo adjudicates the contested election for abbess of San Antonio cloister in Torcello; decides in favour of Fontana Loredano
3 April — Patriarch Domenico reverses Tolomeo's decision and chooses Biriola Zeno for abbess
Tolomeo orders Jacob, the archpriest, to install Fontana
- 1321** 19 July — Patriarch summons Tolomeo to a council, which anathematizes him for perjury, bad stewardship, squandering the goods of the bishopric, other deficiencies, excesses, and crimes; given until 1 August to make amends; Tolomeo's companions and relatives are also condemned for killing the patriarch's agent
2 August — Tolomeo's excommunication is published; Torcello put under an interdict
2 August 1321–1 December 1322 (dates unknown) — Patriarch jails Tolomeo and cuts off his communication with the outside, extorts promises from him, misuses his episcopal seal, and converts property of Torcello to his own use
- 1322** 28 September — Ludwig of Bavaria defeats and captures his rival for the empire, Frederick of Habsburg, at Mühldorf
1 December — John XXII writes to the Abbot of San Cipriano di Murano, ordering him to free Tolomeo from the patriarch's jail, restore his goods, and summon both of their agents to Avignon
- 1323** 15 March — Tolomeo, in Torcello, revokes the confirmation of Fontana
18 July — Canonization ceremony of Thomas Aquinas held in Avignon
7–8 August — Master General Hervey Brito dies
11 September — Biriola gives the oath of obedience to Tolomeo at Torcello cathedral
12 November — John XXII condemns the Franciscan doctrine of apostolic poverty

- 1324** Dominican General Chapter at Bordeaux elects Barnabas of Vercelli master general
- In support of Ludwig of Bavaria, Marsilius of Padua publishes *Defensor pacis*, an attack on papal claims to the empire
- 1324–1325** Tolomeo agrees to changes made by nuns of St John's cloister in Torcello
- late 1325–**
- 10 June 1327** Range of possible dates for Tolomeo's death in Avignon; probably not before early 1327; likely that he was buried in Avignon
- 1327** 13 March — Doge's letter to the *Anziani* of Treviso about the abuses of Tolomeo's nephews; speaks of Tolomeo as senile, but believes him still alive
- 10 June — John XXII names Bartholomaeus, Bishop of Saint-Etienne-de-Tinée, Bishop of Torcello
- 1328** Ludwig of Bavaria marches to Rome and crowns himself; appoints Franciscan Nicholas V pope (antipope to the church); leaders of Franciscans escape captivity and join Ludwig's court; beginning of forty-year struggle of church and empire
- 1334** 4 December — Death of John XXII in Avignon
- 1618** Responding affirmatively to a request by Thomas Dempster for access to public records, the Commune of Lucca also decides to publish *Annales* at public expense
- 3 July — a six-man Luccan government commission decides to publish the *Annales* outside Lucca, in Lyon
- 1619** 30 April — *Annales* published by Jacob Roussin in Lyon
- 5 August—three hundred copies of the first edition of *Annales* reach Lucca
- 9 August — by order of the *consiglio generale* each senate member receives a copy of *Annales*
- 1727** Muratori's edition of *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, still the most modern edition, published in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*
- 1761** Baluze and Mansi's edition of *De iurisdictione ecclesiae super regnum Apuliae et Siciliae* published; still the only modern edition

- 1880** Masetti's edition of *De operibus sex dierum* published; still the only modern edition
- 1909** Krammer's edition of *De iurisdictione imperii* and *De origine ac translatione et statu Romani Imperii* published; still the only modern edition
- 1930** Schmeidler's edition of *Annales*, still the most modern edition, published
- 1949** Both Perrier's and Matthis's editions of *De regimine principum* published; still the most modern editions of Tolomeo's part

Appendix 2

SELECTED DOCUMENTS

1. Pope John XXII's appointment of Tolomeo as Bishop of Torcello, 15 March 1318

Bullarium ordinis praedicatorum, ed. Brémond and others, II, 136

Johannes Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto filio Tholomeo electo Torcellan. Salutem, et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Inter sollicitudines alias, quibus noster animus redditur ex multiplicium negotiorum varietate distractus, illa nos exedit precipue, ut ecclesiis, quas vacationis incomoda reportare conspicimus de celeris, et salubris provisionis remedio succurramus, ne lupus rapax Dominicum gregem pastore parentem, invadit, ovesque rapiat, et disperdat. Nuper siquidem ecclesia Torcellan. per obitum bone memorie Juliani Episcopi Torcellan., qui apud Sedem Apostolicam diem clausit extreum, pastoris solatio destituta, nos attendentes, quod de provisione ipsius ecclesiae, nullus praeter nos se intromittere poterat, propterea quod dudum ante vacationem huiusmodi postquam fuimus ad apicem summi apostolatus assumpti, provisiones omnium ecclesiarum etiam cathedralium, quas apud sedem predictam vacare contingeret, dispositione nostre duximus reservandas, decernentes ex tunc irritum, et inane, si secus super hoc, per quoscumque, quavis auctoritate, scienter, vel ignoranter contingeret attentari, ac propterea de ipsius ecclesie provisione, ne vacationis dispendia prolixe subiret, solicite cogitantes, post deliberationem, quam super hoc habuimus cum nostris fratribus diligentem, consideratis muneribus gratiarum, quibus personam tuam illarum dominus illustravit, ad te, Ordinem Fratrum Predicorum expresse professum, cui literarum scientia, morum honestas, etatis maturitas, et alia dona virtutum multiplicitate suffragantur, convertimus oculos

nostre mentis; quibus omnibus debita meditatione, pensatis de persona tua, nobis, et eisdem fratribus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, dicte Torcellane Ecclesie providemus, teque illi, de fratrum eorundem consilio in episcopum presicimus, et pastorem, curam, et administrationem ipsius, tibi in spiritualibus, et temporalibus committendo; in illo qui dat gratias, et largitur premia confidentes, quod eadem Torcellana Ecclesia, sub tuo felici regimine, gratia tibi suffragante divina, salubriter, et prospere dirigetur.

Iugum igitur domini prompta devotione suscipias, et suavi eius oneri humiliter collum flectas, ipsius ecclesie comissum tibi regimine sic exerceas solicite, fideliter et prudenter, quod ipsa iugiter felicibus gratuletur successibus, sicque proinde premium retributionis eterne, nostramque, ac prefate sedis benedictionem, et gratiam uberibus consequi mereas.

Datum Avenioni Idibus Martii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

2. Decree of excommunication and interdict against Tolomeo, his supporters, and Torcello by the Council of Grado, 2 August 1321

From the Patriarchal Archive of Grado, ed. by Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, pp. 80–83

In Christi nomine amen. Anno Domini 1321. Indictione 4. Die secundo intrante mensis Augusti.

Presentibus discretis viris dominis presbyteris Marco Plebano Ecclesie S. Martini de Buran, Marco Volpe rectore S. Stephani, Petro Dondi rectore S. Bartholomei Ecclesiarum de Maiorbio Torcellane diecesis, Petro Scarpazo, et Cato Cortesio dicte Ecclesie S. Bartholomei presbyteris, Marino Bono contrate S. Petri de Maiorbio, Leonardo Bono eius fratre Anthonio Bellesino, et Anthonio Sambadino contrare predice, et aliis multis maribus, et mulieribus.

Ego Clemens Scarpazo notarius infrascriptus de mandato discreti, et providi viri domini presbyteri Victoris Baraldo Plebani Ecclesie S. Pietri de Maiorbio Torcellane diecesis vicarii, et administratoris ecclesie, et Episcopatus Torcellani, ibidem presentis, et mandatis intermissarum sollepnia inter epistolam et evangelium publice, et alta voce in Ecclesia S. Stephani de Maiorbio predicta, coram clero et poluli multitudine, qui ibidem convenerant ob reverentiam festivitatis B. Stephani legi et publicavi quasdam patentes litteras integras, et illesas sigillo Ven. in Christo patris et Domini D. Dominice Dei, et Apostolice Sedis gratia Patriarche Gradensis Venetiarum, Dalmatique Primatis munitas a tergo directas eidem D. Vicario, et administratori ex parte ipsius D. Patriarche Gradensis tenoris infrascripti.

Divina misericordia Dominicus Sancte Gradensis Ecclesie Patriarcha, Venetiarum, Dalmatiaeque Primas Venerabilibus in Christo fratribus episcopis ac eorum vices gerentibus, et dilectis in Christo filiiis, abbatibus, abbatissis, prioribus, archidiaconis, capitulis, plebanis, et ceteris ecclesiarum rectoribus, prelatis, et clero universi Patriarchatus Gradensis salutem, et per meritum obedientie vitam consequi sempiternam.

Cum nuper in nostro facto Gradensi Concilio, fuerint processus et sententie statui ordinati et promulgati in hac forma videlicet: Quia nullum malum debet esse inultum, vel bonum irremunderatum, id circa per Rev. in Christo Patrem et D. Dominicum Patriarcham Gradensem exposito facto, et expressis gravaminibus, iniuriis, ac excessibus illatis Ecclesie Gradensi, et dignitati patriarchali per fratrem Ptholomeum Episcopum Torcellanum et explicatis sententiis et processibus per ipsum D. Dominicum Patriarcham aut ipsius auctoritate et mandato factis contra predictum episcopum, se ipsum ut Dominicum suos processus, et sententias si ut homo pecasset, errasset, vel deffecisset ignorantia, negligentia vel alias in quantum finit humana fragilitas, suposuit, et submisit correctioni, et emendationi predicti concilii ibidem presentis petens ipsius auxilium, consilium, et favorem.

Cum dictus episcopus continue in maiori rebellione persistat contempnens, et deridens iurisdictionem, statum, et dignitatem Gradensem, et episcopatum destruat, ac dissipet Torcellanum; et tunc illico de voluntate totius concilii predicti adsurrexit Rev. in Christo Pater D. Johannes electus confirmatus et consecratus in Archiepiscopum Iadensem dicens, quod concilium volebat super dictis, et proposititis tam iniuriis, excessibus, et gravaminibus, quam sententiis, et processibus predictis consulte deliberare, et lecto instrumento fidelitatis iuramenti prestiti per dictum episcopum dicto D. Patriarche, et Ecclesie Gradensi, in quo inter cetera continetur, quod idem episcopus omni anno gradum personaliter in festo SS. Hermacore, et Fortunati venire tenet: similiter etiam ad synodem; et pro cathedralico omnino anno dare tenetur, et solvere ecclesie Gradensi quinque solidos parvorum, et non venerit postquam fuit episcopus, nec solverit, nec executionem aliquam pretenderit, nec excusationem etiam destinaverit, propter que predictum concilium pronunciavit ipsum episcopum absentem, contumacem, et etiam periurii labem incurrisse, et periurii esse crimine irretium, ac etiam alio instrumento ex cuius tenore, et aliis probationibus legitimis de multipli periurio dictus convincebatur episcopus, et lecta etiam confessione ipsius episcopi, aliquibus attestationibus, et dictis testium super dilapidatione notoria facti etiam permanentis, et mala administratione spiritualium, et temporalium ecclesie et episcopatus Torcellani, et allis quam pluribus deffectibus, excessibus, et criminibus

predicti episcopi, et suorum, ac infamia predictorum presertim vulneris mortalis illati per familiares, et nepotes dicti episcopi in Jacobum diaconum ecclesie S. Apollenaris de Venetiis nuncium iuratum specialem dicti D. Patriarche, quod tunc eidem episcopo una cum Laurentio collega dicti Iacobi vulnerati litteras citatorias dicti D. Patriarche, super suis excessibus et criminibus presentataverat, et sententiis, ac processibus predictis. Habita postmodum per dictum sanctum concilium super predictis deliberatione diligent, et omnibus mature pensatis cum de quam pluribus predictorum condepnatione dignorum experientie palpate evidentia pluribus episcopis, et aliis personis notabilibus in dicto concilio existentibus manifestissime, ac dilucide constaret diffiniendo, et sententialiter statuendo sententias, processus per eundem D. Patriarcham vel eius auctoritate et mandato patres laudaverunt, approbaverunt, et rattificaverunt omni modo, et forma quibus melius possunt.

Predictumque Episcopum Torcellanum inobedientem perjurium et contumacem anathematizaverunt. Et ut dicti processus et sententie observentur per presens statutum ordinaverunt propter eius rebellionem pertinactiam, obstinationem in augmentum pene nisi crita Kalendis Augusti proximi, venturi misericordiam, et gratiam dicti D. Patriarche meruerit obtinere premissa satisfactione condigna, quod denunciaretur excommunicatus per totam provinciam, et Patriarchatum Gradensem ipse episcopus, et iedem adherentes vel obedientes, seu dantes auxilium, consilium, vel favorem, directe vel indirecte publice vel occulte quovis modo vel questio colore cuiuseunque status, aut conditionis existent etiam si episcopali fulgeant dignitate contra dictum D. Patriarchiam, eiusque iurisdictionem, aut dignitatem, vel processus, seu sententias, ac etiam eos qui adheserunt, vel adhreibunt obedierunt, vel obedient, dederunt, vel dabunt auxilium, consilium, vel favorem quovis modo in predictis vel aliquo predictorum quos dictus D. Patriarcha specialiter duxerit nominandos. Et nichilominus Civitas Torcellana ex tunc scilicet a Kalendis Augusti eo ipso quamdiu idem episcopus sic excommunicatus vel rebellis habitaverit, moramque traxerit in Torcello, sit ecclesiastico supposita interdicto, et sic interdicta sit modo simili quelibet parochia, monasterium ecclesie, et quaevi loca Patriarchatus Gradensis quamdiu in ea fuerit, et personaliter extiterit episcopus nominatus.

Et si dictus episcopus indurato animo ad gratiam et misericordiam prefati D. Patriarche ut supra non reddierit post mensem Augusti predictum nequeat per alium quam per dictum D. Patriarcham Dominicum dumtaxat vel eius superiorem absolutionis beneficium obtinere preterquam in mortis articulo ceteri vero supradicti, qui adheserunt adherent, vel adhreibunt, obedierunt, obediunt vel obedient, dederunt dant vel dabunt auxilium, consilium, vel favorem,

aut quin prefatas ordinationem statutum, ac sententiam effectualiter executionem consequantur, impedierint auxilio, consilio, vel favore aut quovis modo ut supra, si infra duos menses non redierint ad gratiam et misericordiam dicti D. Patriarche et satisfactione condigna, si persone seculares, aut laicales fuerint, qui eo ipso sint excommunicate nequeant per alium quam per dictum D. Patriarcham Dominicum dumtaxat vel eius superiorem absolvi preterquam in mortis articulo.

Si vero sint ecclesiastice persone, quod etiam ipso facto sint excommunicate, ab officio, et beneficio per trienium sint suspense et inhabiles ad quemvis ordinem, officium, vel beneficium personatum, vel dignitatem etiam episcopalem obtinendos. Et insuper ad predictorum roborationem et observationem et executionem predictum sanctum concilium congregatum dederunt, et concesserunt super predictis et eorum quolibet plenam potestatem predicto dumtaxat D. Dominico Patriarche presenti consentienti et acceptanti absolvendi, relaxandi, dispensandi, ac omnia supradicta et eorum quodlibet exequendi rebelles, contradictores aut impedidores seu contrarium facientes compellendi et puniendi prout et in quantum omni modo et forma quibus ipsum sanctum concilium congregatum facere posset eidem D. Patriarche in omnibus predictis et circa predicta fiendis, ac singulis predictorum cum omnibus accessoriis connexis, pertinentiis et dependentiis suis committentes totaliter vices suas.

Quo circa auctoritate et potestate predictis mandamus districtius sub virtute sancte obedientie ac sub interminatione divini iudicii iniungentes vobis ven. fratribus episcopis vel vestras vices gerentibus, vicariisque capitulorum, ecclesiarum vacantium quatenus predictos processus, et sententias effectualiter observantes in vestris cathedralibus ecclesiis per singula diebus dominicis et festivis publicetis, et faciatis per abbates plebanos, et alios ecclesiarum rectores vobis subiectos in suis ecclesiis prout expedierit publicari, ac etiam observari, vobisque abbatibus, plabanis, et ceteris supradictis, ac omnibus Christifidelibus ut predictos processus, prout ad vos et vestrum quemlibet pertinuerit publicetis diebus dominicis et festivis inviolabiliterque observetis, et faciatis ab aliis observari taliter ut ad vos de pbedientia, et sollicitudine commendare merito valeamus.

Datum apud Gradum die xix. mensis Julii. Indictione quarta. Presentes autem litteras vobis presentatas latori earum precipimus restituи, ut aliis similiter valeant presentari. Ed deinde subsequenter lectis, expositis, et publicatis dictis litteris.

Ego idem notarius infrascriptus de mandato dicti D. Vicarii secundum illarum continentiam litterarum denunciavi dictum Torcellanum excommunicatum et anathematizatum et Civitatem Torcellanam ecclesiastico suppositam interdicto, et quamcunque parochiam monasterium, et ecclesias et quevis loca quamdiu in ea fuerit et personaliter extiterit episcopus nominatus.

Item denunciavi excommunicatos Presb. Iacobum dictum Archpresbyterium Torcellanum nominatim et expresse, et Magistrum Fredericum Apostatam de Senis, Pucanellum, Collutium et Landutium familiares et nepotes dicti episcopi Torcellani tanquam fautores et obediores eiusdem episcopi et sibi adherentes et faventes, et parantes auxilium, consilium, et favorem. Et generaliter omnes alios cuiuscunque conditionis et status qui eidem D. Episcopo in tanta rebellione et contumacia existenti preberent, vel darent auxilium, consilium vel favorem quovis modo iuxta dictarum litterarum tenorem, et prout et sicut dictus D. Vicarius a dicto Ven. Patre D. Patriarcha Gradensi sua et dicti concilii auctoritate receperat in mandatis, et tanquam excommunicatos haberi et reputari et ab omnibus artius evitandos quousque ad mandata ecclesie concilii prefati et dicti D.D. Patriarche redierint et absolutionis beneficium meruerint obtinere.

Lecte, exposite, et publicate fuerunt dicte littere, et denuntiate fuerunt in ecclesia predicta S. Stephani cum campanarum pulsatione, et candellis accentis et extinctis publice et alta voce.

L.S. Ego Clemens Scarpazo olim filius Thome Scarpazo de Maiorbio imperiali auctoritate notarius hiis omnibus interfui et predictam publicationem et denunciationem feci de mandatoque dicti D. Vicarii scripsi et in publicam formam redegi.

3. Letter of Pope John XXII to the Abbot of St Cipriano of Murano and other church figures about Tolomeo's imprisonment, 1 December 1322

Vatican Archives, Register of John XXII, v.74, ep. 269; ed. by Taurisano, *Domenicani*, pp. 227–29; see *Jean XXII lettres*, IV, ed. Mollat and de Lesquen, p. 213 n. 16681

Dilectis filiis sancti Cipriani de Murano et [...] sancte Marie de Piro monasteriorum Abbatibus ac [...]. priori Sancti Jacobi de Schirialis Tervisini et Torcellani dioces. Salutem.

Querelam Venerabilis fratris nostri Tholomei episcopi Torcellani recepimus continentem quod dudum monasterio sororum Sancti Antonii Torcellani Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, per obitum ultime abbatisse ipsius vacante ac duabus electionibus una videlicet de dilecta in Xsto filia Fontana dicti monasterii a miori et saniori parte ipsius monasterii canonice, altera vero Biriola dicti monastarii monialibus a minori parte ipsius conventus minus canonice in discordia celebratis. Venerabilis frater noster Dominicus patriarcha Gradensis metropolitanus loci pretendens minus veraciter dictarum electionum negocium per appellacionem

dicte Biriole ad examen suum legitime devolutum electionem dicte Fontane canonicam auctoritate propria casssans electionem ipsius Biriole minus canonicam confirmare presumpsit, preficiens eam in abbatissam monasterii memorati, mandans eidam episcopo ut eidem Biriole tanquam ipsius monasterii abbatisse intenderet et faceret per conventum dicti monasterii obediri ac obedientiam et reverentiam debitam exhiberi. A cuius patriarche processu fuit pro parte ipsius episcopi ad Sedem Apostolicam appellatum, quam appellationem idem patriarcha gerendo moleste eidem episcopo ingressum ecclesie interdixit, propter quod idem episcopus iterato ad sedem appellavit eandem, ac nihilominus de dictarum electionum et electarum meritis iuxta debitum officii sui cognoscens, electionem eiusdem Fontane quam invenit de prima ydonea canonico celebratam, auctoritate ordinaria confirmavit. Dictusque patriarcha ex eo contra ipsum amplius provocatus consurgens eum diversorum criminum labe respersum fecit eum per diversas citaciones peremptorie ad diversa loca citari, ut coram eo super dictis criminibus responsurus personaliter compareret.

Et licet idem episcopus in singulis terminis comparuisset per procuratorem suum ad hoc legitime constitutum et per eum a comparitione personali fuisset rationabiliter excusatus; idem tamen patriarcha contemptis appellationibus supradictis in eum excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit ipsumque pronuncians periurii labe respersum cum excommunicatum et privatum nunciari publice et ab omnibus arceri evitari mandavit, ipsum ab administratione spiritualium et temporalium Torcellane Ecclesie suspendendo constituens in ecclesia predicta vicarios qui ad manus suas proventus et redditus reciperent ecclesie memorate.

Et quamvis in singulis predictis processibus et gravaminibus idem episcopus ad sedem appellasset eandem, dictus tamen patriarcha appellationibus huiusmodi vilipendens per dictos vicarios omnes fructus redditus et proventus possessionum et nemorum et aliorum bonorum ad mensam episcopalem ipsius episcopi pertinencium recipi fecit et auferri episcopo memorato. Et nichilominus certam partem dictorum nemorum fecit incidi et ligna vendi, et precium exinde receptum in usus suos converti pro suo libito voluntatis, ac preter hoc dictum episcopum non absque manuum invective in eundem Dei timore postposito temere violenta nocturno tempore in palatio dicti episcopi capi fecit et diro carceri mancipari, eumque diu detinuit et adhuc detinet carceri mancipatum, sibi loquendi cum proximis amicis et notis omnem auferens facultatem; extorquens nonnullas promissiones recogniciones et obligationes, nichilominus ab eodem eique faciens sigillum violenter auferri, ac diversas licteras et recogniciones sub eiusdem episcopi nomine confeci fecit eiusque sigillo sigillari, dicto episcopo ignorantе, nec hiis contentis redditus ejusdem ecclesie tempore proxime vacacionis ecclesie predicte

collectos quominus tradantur eidem episcopo impedivit ac fecit et facit per alios impediiri.

Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta in virtute sancte obedientie destricte precipiendo mandamus quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel per alium seu alios eundem episcopum statim post reeptionem presentem facietis a dicto carceri liberari et plene restitui libertati, sibique possessiones et nemora omni aque bona ad dictam mensam spectancia restitui supradicta eidem episcopo de fructibus redditum ac proventibus de possessionibus et aliis bonis predicis ut premittitur per vicarios predictos seu quoscumque alios pretestu premissorum ablatis perceptis et quomodolibet asportatis ac etiam omnibus familiaribus eiusdem episcopi et adibentibus sibi de omnibus bonis suis ac fructibus et redditibus quibuscumque eisdem per dictos vicarios vel quoscumque alios de mandato dicti patriarche vel premissorum occasione sublatis seu quomodo libet alias arrestatis, etiam et de consumptis per eos in pecuniarum summis et quibuscumque rebus consistentibus satisfactionem plenariam fieri faciendo ad id eundem patriarcham et quoscumque contradictores alios et rebelles auctoritate nostra appellatione postposita compellendo. Invocato ad hoc si opus fuerit auxilio brachii scularis. Non obstantibus si eisdem communiter vel divisim a sede apostolica sit indulatum quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verba ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi menicionem.

Ceterum prefatos patriarcham et episcopum vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel per alium seyou alios ex parte vestri peremptorie citare, curetis ut infra duorum mensium spacium post citationem huiusmodi personaliter apostolico se conspectui representent. Alioquin per procuratores ydoneos sufficienter instructos ad hoc plenum et speciale mandatum habentes in dicto termino compareant legitimate coram nobis facturi super premissis omnibus et singulis et recepturi quod ordo dictaverit rationis nostrisque nichilominus mandatis et beneplacitis patituri. Diem vero citationis huiusmodi et formam et quidquid inde duxeritis faciendo nobis per vestras literas sive publicum instrumentum harum seriem continentest fideliter quantocius insinuare curatis.

Dat. Aven. Kal. Decembr. Anno septimo.

CORRECTIONS TO MY TRANSLATION OF *DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM*

Over the ten years since the publication of my translation of *De regimine principum*, several errors or infelicitous choices have come to my attention, usually because I myself have noticed them. This is of course embarrassing, particularly in one case, mentioned earlier, in which my translation completely altered the sense of a passage. I often wonder how such errors, or the typos that one can never seem to eliminate but which later leap from the page at a glance, could ever have happened, given the care and constant checking that I, and I assume all academic writers, do. Most authors do not have a convenient opportunity, as I do here, to enumerate their errors, and, unfortunately, it is unlikely that I will have another opportunity to point out further errors, if any, that I discover in the future. And, in any case, most readers of the translation will never see this list.

Such problems point to a glaring lack that would be easy to remedy, given the cheapness of electronic storage these days and the ubiquity of the Internet. What we need is a site, hosted by a stable entity such as the Library of Congress, that could guarantee to maintain the site perpetually and upon which authors could post corrections, retractions, and additions, as well as supplementary material such as primary documents that are not economically feasible for publishers to include in their publications. It would also allow academic writers the possibility of offering a for-sale version of their work that is more friendly to an educated general audience, while at the same time making more technical and detailed material accessible to others in the academic field. It might also be valuable, although this is not as important, to allow others to post their own comments.

Here, then, are my corrections. There is only one mistake, I think, that seriously misleads the reader, that in III.19.1, as I discuss in my chapter on the Empire

in the companion volume, *Worldview and Thought*. I hope that these are all the errors that come to light, although I would appreciate it if anyone who finds any lets me know about it.

p. 34; III.6.3, pp. 161–62; IV.1.4, p. 217

Incorrect: they took care to consult daily with the 320

Correct: they held court to consult daily with the 320

III.8.3, p. 168

Incorrect: Queen Tomyris gathered an army of Massagetae and Parthians

Correct: Queen Tomyris gathered an army of Scythians, both Massagetae and Parthians

III.19.1, p. 202

Incorrect: as long as it lasts, so long will last the Roman Church, which has the supreme rank in rule

Correct: it will last as long as the Roman Church, which holds the supreme rank in rule, judges it expedient for the faithful of Christ.

IV.1, p. 219 n. 24

Incorrect: The usual source of new slave

Correct: The usual source of new slaves

IV.3.11, pp. 224–25

Incorrect: Cicero says in his book, *On Friendship*: ‘nature loves nothing that is solitary’. What I heard from our elders that Archytas of Tarentum used to say is true: ‘If someone ascended into heaven and beheld the nature of the world and stars, it would not be pleasant for them to admire that beauty if there were no friend or companion there’.

Correct: Cicero says in his book *On Friendship*: ‘nature loves nothing that is solitary. What I heard from our elders that Archytas of

Tarentum used to say is true: “If someone ascended into heaven and beheld the nature of the world and stars, it would not be pleasant for them to admire that beauty if there were no friend or companion there.”

IV.8.3, p. 238

Incorrect: three times — first in the time of Charlemagne, second three hundred years later in the time of Robert Guiscard, and now in our own times by king Charles, and they have already soaked up the Sicilian nature.

Correct: three times — first in the time of Charlemagne, second three hundred years later in the time of Robert Guiscard, and now in our own times by King Charles — and they have already soaked up the Sicilian nature.

IV.18.3, p. 262

Incorrect: they were elevated to the government of the people

Correct: he was elevated to the government of the people

IV.20.4, p. 268 n. 264

Incorrect: 2.11.1173b

Correct: 2.11.1273b

IV.23.1, p. 272

Incorrect: the architect of all other virtues of the city

Correct: the architect of all other virtues of the citizens

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